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## Family strategies to cope with poor labour market outcomes

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## D 8.2 - Family strategies to cope with poor labour market outcomes

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**STYLE-WP8:**

**Family and Cultural Drivers of  
Youth Unemployment and Adulthood Transitions  
Deliverable 8.2**

**17 February 2016**

**Version - 1.4**

**Submission date - Planned: 29/02/2016      Actual: 28/02/2016**



**STYLE Working Papers** are peer-reviewed outputs from the [www.style-research.eu](http://www.style-research.eu) project. The series is edited by the project coordinator Professor Jacqueline O'Reilly. These working papers are intended to meet the European Commission's expected impact from the project:

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- ii) to engage with 'relevant communities, stakeholders and practitioners in the research with a view to supporting employment policies in Europe.' Contributions to a dialogue about these results can be made through the project website [www.style-research.eu](http://www.style-research.eu), or by following us on Twitter @STYLEEU.

To cite this report:

Berloffa, G., M. Filandri, E. Matteazzi, T. Nazio, N. Negri, J. O'Reilly and A. Sandor (2016) 'Family strategies to cope with poor labour market outcomes', STYLE Working Papers, STYLE-WP8.2 CROME, University of Brighton, Brighton.

<http://www.style-research.eu/publications/working-papers>

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## Acknowledgements

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 613256. We are grateful for comments made on earlier drafts by Colette Fagan.

## Executive Summary

This work uses the EU-SILC data to examine the early stages of young people's employment (or non employment) career trajectories, in the phase following educational achievements or completion.

In particular, we examine the extent to which young people's family background and household characteristics impact on young individuals' transitions from school to work and their probability of experiencing successful or failure paths. We propose a twofold definition of successful paths. Firstly, through the classification of employment trajectories and, secondly, through the dimensions of skills and wage for those who are employed. We provide new comparative empirical evidence, both cross-sectional and longitudinal, on the following effects:

- the effect of the family employment structure on young people's probability to follow certain school-to-work-transition trajectories, for those still living with parents
- how the experience in unemployment at the early stage of employment career reflects on the occupational conditions (pay & skill level) reached by young individuals, net of individual and country characteristics
- whether experiencing unemployment, (dis)continuity in employment or the type of entry job after leaving education affects, for those employed, the characteristics of their occupation three years later
- which employment strategies are more likely to lead to a successful employment condition
- how family social influences the strategies outcomes achieved by young people.

We devise and describe two typologies (of school-to-work trajectories and of success-failure in occupational positioning) and test the influence of several individuals' and familial characteristics. The research results suggest that the employment structure of the family of origin plays a strong and decisive influence on the employment trajectories and likelihood of occupational success for young people. Our results support the idea that families of origin strongly stratify young people's educational and occupational achievements, opportunities, strategies and prospects in the labour market. Their influence looms large, both when living within and outside the parental household.

In terms of school-leavers' routes to the labour market the results suggest that the employment conditions of the household members can increase the likelihood of speedy trajectories. The study also indicates that, despite a clear but weak advantage of a continuous employment attachment and an early start, short-term unemployment does not impair subsequent outcomes. Results suggest that a slightly longer initial wait before first entry (instead of entering employment immediately after completing education), or a turbulent beginning (instead of continuous employment), might respond to a strategic move to securing an initially skilled positioning, often at the trade-off of a lower salary. The pursuit of 'higher profile' career paths is made easier for youth from higher social class, while for children from other social backgrounds staying longer in the parental home may be the most viable option to achieve better employment prospects. Net of the country differences in the proportion of young people employed and experiencing the measured outcomes, we find no country specific differences in mediating the effects of either of the outcomes analysed.

### Key words:

School-to-work transition; unemployment; employment; family background; strategies; inequalities

## Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Aims and organisation of this report .....	7
2. The influence of the family employment structure on school-to-work trajectories .....	8
2.1 Data and methodology .....	9
2.1.1 Data, definitions and descriptive statistics .....	9
2.1.2 Methodology .....	12
2.2 Results .....	14
2.2.1 Marginal effects .....	14
2.2.2 Predicted outcome probabilities and odds ratios by family type .....	15
2.3 Working conditions of household members and youth transition trajectories .....	18
3. Employment strategies: duration in unemployment and early entrance .....	20
3.1 Young people between studies and the labour market.....	20
3.2 Successful young people in the context of different labour markets.....	23
3.3 The way to a better job: quick entrance and few interruptions.....	26
3.4 Good and bad jobs: a typology of successful outcome.....	27
3.4.1 Duration in unemployment and employment outcomes.....	28
3.4.2 Continuity in employment and employment outcomes .....	29
4. Employment strategies: better start and social class of origin.....	32
4.1 Earlier entrance or a better start? .....	32
4.2 Employment strategies by family of origin .....	37
5. Conclusions .....	40
6. Bibliography .....	45
7. Appendix.....	51
Recent titles in this series.....	56
Research Partners.....	61
Advisory Groups .....	62

## Abbreviations

ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy/Policies
AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
CH	Switzerland
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czech Republic
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
EC	European Commission
EE	Estonia
EPL	Employment Protection Legislation
ES	Spain
EU	European Union
EU-LFS	European Union- Labour Force Survey
EU-SILC	European Union Survey on Income and Living Conditions
FI	Finland
FR	France
GR	Greece
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
ILO	International Labour Office
IS	Iceland
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
IT	Italy
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
LV	Latvia
MT	Malta
NEET	Not in Employment, Education or Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NL	Netherlands
NO	Norway
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SE	Sweden

SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
STW	School to Work
UK	United Kingdom

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Aims and organisation of this report

This report investigates the role of young people's family of origin on their early labour market trajectories and employment outcomes in Europe, with EU-SILC cross-sectional (2011) and longitudinal data (2009-2012). We inspect differences between households' working condition (of parents and other adult members, distinguishing between mother and father's employment) around educational completion, taking account of country differences at the European level. We also focus on the effects of early employment experiences (unemployment, continuity and early entrance) on young people's early employment outcomes in five selected countries: Finland, France, Italy, Poland and the UK. To depict the (un)successful outcomes of employment strategies, we test both for the effect of entry job and for social class differences on later occupational outcomes. This report is organised as follows:

1. We inspect the effect of household members working condition on young people's early employment trajectories, by gender and over time, for those living with their parents, using EU-SILC longitudinal data (2009-2012) in chapter 2.
2. We analyse the how the experience in unemployment at the early stage of employment career reflects on the occupational conditions (pay & skill level) reached by young individuals, net of individual and country characteristics, using EU-SILC data in chapter 3. Here, we also test whether experiencing unemployment or (dis)continuity in employment affects, for those employed, the characteristics of their employment outcomes three years later.
3. Chapter 4 analyses which employment strategies are more likely to lead to a successful employment condition three years later (with longitudinal data). It also examines the relationship between the social class of the families of origin on young people's short term employment outcomes (within 5 years since finishing education). It does so, distinguishing between individuals still living with their parents or who already reached residential independence, using Eu-Silc ad-hoc module (2011).
4. The report concludes by summing up the key findings and their policy implications.



## 2. The influence of the family employment structure on school-to-work trajectories

The experience of entering the labour market varies greatly across European countries both in terms of entry-speed and job-stability. While in some countries young people enter rapidly in a stable employment, in other countries they go through a long search process, or they change various short and unstable jobs. Differences in youth school-to-work transitions may be explained by cross-country differences in educational systems, labour market institutions, youth unemployment and other macro-economic conditions (Müller and Gangl 2003; Scherer 2005; Schomburg and Teichler 2006; Shavit and Müller 1998; Wolbers 2007).<sup>1</sup> In this chapter we examine whether, besides individual and country characteristics, the family background plays a role in determining the type of integration process into the labour market experienced by young individuals.

Several studies analysed the relationship between young individuals' employment status and their family background, considering intergenerational links (Solon 1992; Corak 2006; Ekhaugen 2009; Black and Devereux 2011; Raitano and Vona 2015; Berloffa, Matteazzi and Villa 2015a), or the contemporaneous effects of the working conditions of family members (Stafford 1980; Payne 1987; Berloffa, Matteazzi and Villa 2015b). All these studies, however, focus either on the employment conditions of young individuals at a single point in time, or on year-to-year transitions (generally modelled as conditional probabilities; Ward-Warmedinger and Macchiarelli 2013; Berloffa, Modena and Villa 2014; Filandri, Nazio and Negri 2015).

In this chapter we focus, instead, on young people school-to-work trajectories, i.e. on the type of sequence of employment statuses that characterizes their early labour market experience. In particular, we examine whether the working conditions of parents and other family members at the time when young people leave education affect the characteristics of their entry path. To this end, we use monthly data on employment statuses from the 2009 to 2012 longitudinal waves of EU-SILC, to construct individual trajectories covering a period of 36 months. We group these trajectories into different types according to the methodology discussed in Berloffa, Mazzolini and Villa (2015), and we estimate the effect of the household employment structure on the probability of experiencing one type of trajectory or the other. We adopt a gender approach and consider cross-country and time differences in macro-economic conditions and institutional settings.

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<sup>1</sup> More precisely, scholars agree that the vocational specificity of the educational system, on one side, and the

The contribution of this work is threefold. First, we examine the impact of the family employment conditions on the entire labour market entry process of young individuals. Second, we distinguish the working status of parents from that of other working-age family members, to check whether they have different effects on youth school-to-work trajectories. We also consider separately the employment status of the mother and the father to examine whether there exists a father-son and mother-daughter type of effect. Third, we predict youth probability of experiencing a particular trajectory by the type of household employment structure.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.1 describes the data and discusses some methodological issues. Section 2.2 presents our main empirical findings and section 2.3 concludes.

## 2.1 Data and methodology

### 2.1.1 Data, definitions and descriptive statistics

Throughout this chapter we focus on young people aged 16-34 and use the 2009 to 2012 longitudinal waves of EU-SILC,<sup>2</sup> which cover the years from 2006 to 2012. We select individuals with at least three consecutive interviews, who were living with at least one parent during the three years covered by the three interviews, and who left education during the same period.<sup>3</sup> We use monthly information on employment statuses to identify school-to-work (STW) trajectories.<sup>4</sup> In each month, individuals can be either employed, unemployed, in education or inactive. STW trajectories are represented by the specific combination of these four statuses over 36 months. Because of data limitations, we could consider only the following 17 European countries: AT, BE, CZ, DK, EE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HU, IT, PL, PT, SE, SI, SK, and UK.<sup>5</sup>

As discussed in Berloff, Mazzolini and Villa (2015), individual trajectories are classified according to the time needed to reach, and the pathway that led to, the first relevant employment spell i.e., an employment spell that lasts for at least six consecutive months.<sup>6</sup> We distinguish successful and unsuccessful trajectories according to the achievement of a relevant employment spell, and we identify various sub-types according to whether individuals experienced a small number of long

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<sup>2</sup> With the revisions released in August 2013.

<sup>3</sup> EU-Silc panel data provide information only for family members who are present at the time of the interview. No information is available for family members living permanently or temporarily outside the household.

<sup>4</sup> Since monthly employment information refers to the calendar year preceding the interview, the analysis will often refer to the period 2005 to 2011. Individuals with missing information about their main activity during the 36 months covered by the three interviews are not included in the analysis.

<sup>5</sup> LU, IS, NL and IE are excluded because the sample size is too small. BG, CY, LT, LV, MT, NO, RO are excluded because the policy variables that we use in the econometric analysis are not available for them.

<sup>6</sup> The definition of a relevant employment spell follows the EU-Silc convention according to which a six-month period identifies the first regular job and whether individuals ever worked. Moreover, six months are a reference length also for some labour market policies, such as the UK Government's Youth Contract wage incentive, which has been in place from 2012 to 2014, paying an incentive to firms that recruited long-term unemployed young people for at least 26 weeks.

unemployment spells or a large number of short employment and unemployment spells. We also take into account the decision of returning to education after a sufficiently long period in the labour market or in inactivity. These criteria result in six different STW-types:

Successful pathways:

- speedy pathways: sequences which present a relevant employment spell within six months after leaving education;
- long search pathways: sequences which present a relevant employment spell after more than six months in unemployment and/or inactivity;
- in&out successful pathways: sequences which present a relevant employment spell after various non-relevant employment spells, interspersed by short periods in unemployment or inactivity.

Unsuccessful pathways:

- in&out unsuccessful pathways: sequences similar to the previous ones, but which do not end up in a relevant employment spell;
- continuous unemployment/inactivity pathways: sequences characterized only by spells of unemployment/ inactivity.

Return to education pathways: sequences characterized by a spell in education of at least six consecutive months, experienced more than six months after having left education.

Figure A.1 in the Appendix shows these six STW-types.

Table 1 reports the distribution of young individuals across trajectories according to their gender and the year when they left education: the period 2005-2007 (pre-crisis) and the period 2008-2011 (during the crisis). Overall, about half of our sample experienced a speedy trajectory. However, as expected, young people who entered the labour market during the crisis were less likely to have a speedy trajectory (46% vs. 57% of those who entered before the crisis) and more likely to experience continuously unemployment or inactivity (32% vs. 17% respectively). The crisis had somewhat worse consequences for males than for females. The share of males who entered the labour market in the period 2005-2007 and had a speedy trajectory was around 59% while those who remained continuously unemployed/inactive were roughly 15%. Among those who finished education in the following three years (2008-2011), only 45% experienced a speedy trajectory, and about 32% remained continuously at the margin of the labour market. The evidence is not so surprising since the crisis hit mainly male-dominated sectors.

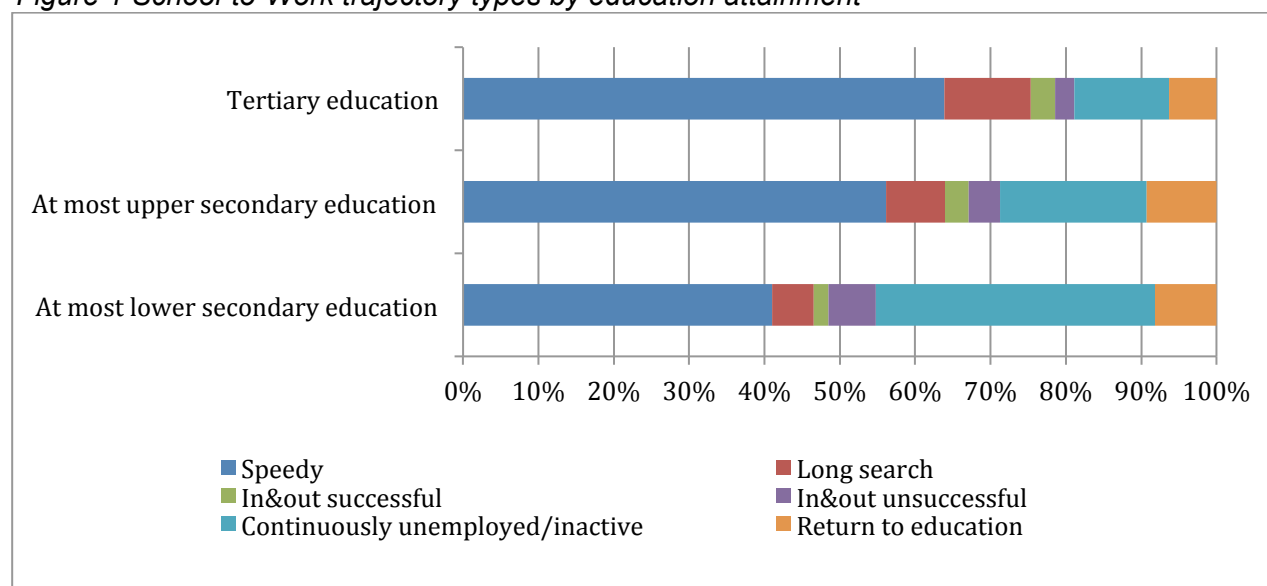
*Table 1 Percentage of young people experiencing different School-to-Work trajectory types by year of leaving education*

	All sample		Females		Males	
	2005-2007	2008-2011	2005-2007	2008-2011	2005-2007	2008-2011
Speedy	57.40	46.22	55.19	47.66	59.23	45.01
Long search	8.56	6.42	7.84	6.30	9.15	6.51
In&out successful	2.86	2.58	2.06	2.34	3.52	2.78
In&out unsuccessful	4.12	5.33	3.95	4.67	4.26	5.88
Continuously unemployed/inactive	17.04	32.39	19.63	32.50	14.88	32.30
Return to education	10.03	7.06	11.32	6.52	8.96	7.52

*Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2009-2012).*

As one would expect, education has a large impact on the type of trajectory experienced by young people (see figure 1). Indeed, the share of young people with a speedy trajectory is about 64% among individuals with a tertiary education, about 56% among those with at most upper secondary education, and about 41% among those with at most lower secondary education. These differences are reflected mainly in different shares of individuals who are continuously unemployed/inactive. Notice, however, that highly educated young people have almost a double probability of experiencing a long search pathway than less educated (11.4% vs. 5.5%), and if they are in-and-out, they are more likely to be successful.

*Figure 1 School-to-Work trajectory types by education attainment*

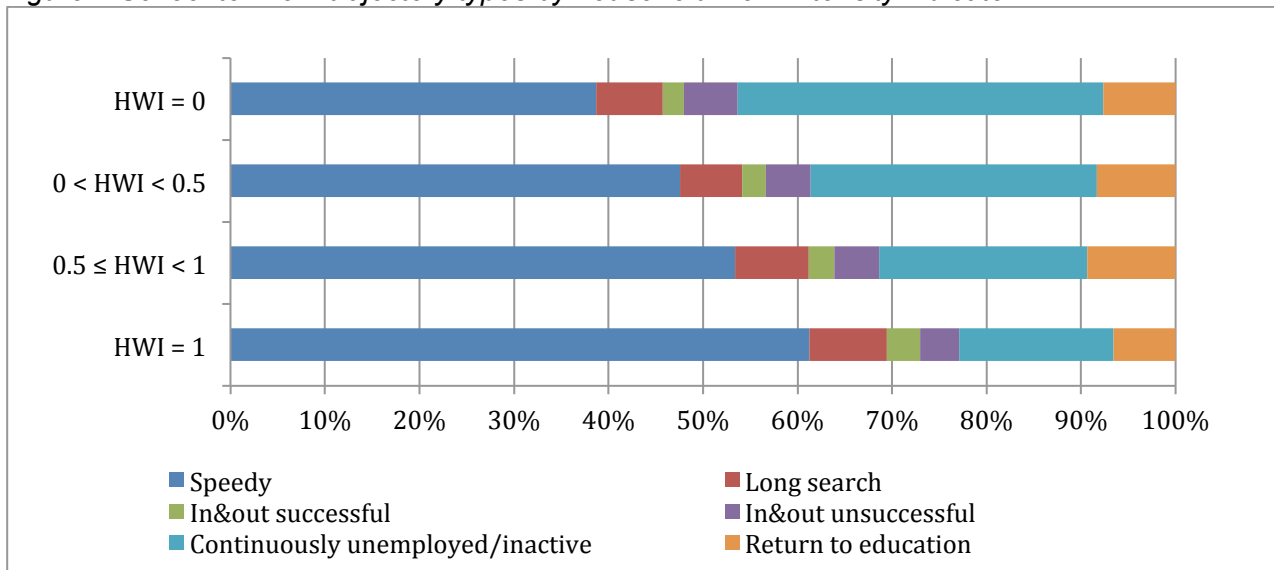


*Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-Silc longitudinal data (2009-2012).*

Similar differences emerge also when we consider the distribution of young people across STW-trajectories according to the household employment structure (Figure 2). For the purpose of this

descriptive analysis, we classify families according to a household work-intensity indicator (HWI), which accounts for the employment status of both parents and other working-age family members during the six-month period around the moment in which the young individual left education.<sup>7</sup> We distinguish households with HWI = 1 (work-rich families), households with HWI between 0.5 and 1, households with HWI larger than zero but lower than 0.5, and households with HWI = 0 (work-poor families). Young people living in families where most of their members are working are more likely to experience a successful entry into the labour market. More than 60% of individuals who are living in work-rich households experience a speedy trajectory vs. less than 40% of those living in work-poor households. These individuals present instead the highest share of continuously unemployed or inactive (more than double the one of those in work-rich families). No relevant differences emerge in the shares of young individuals with long-search or in&out pathways across family types. The econometric analysis presented in the next paragraph will show that these differences remain, even after controlling for individuals and country characteristics.

*Figure 2 School-to-Work trajectory types by household work intensity indicator*



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-Silc longitudinal data (2009-2012).

### 2.1.2 Methodology

In order to analyse the effect of the family employment structure on young peoples' labour market entry, we estimate a multinomial logit model, with STW-types as the dependent variable. The set of

<sup>7</sup> More precisely, we consider individuals' employment status three months before and three months after the month in which young people left education. The HWI is computed as the ratio between the total number of months spent in employment by parents and all other working-age members during the six-month period and the total number of months the same members theoretically could have worked in the same period.

control variables  $z_j$  includes individual characteristics, such as age and education, and country characteristics. Among these, we consider country dummies and some variables that account for the role of labour market institutions (active labour market policy expenditures per unemployed,<sup>8</sup> expressed as a percentage of GDP per capita,<sup>9</sup> and OECD indicators of the strictness of the employment protection legislation for regular and temporary contracts).<sup>10</sup> We also control for household size and the presence of both parents. In order to capture the effect of business cycle fluctuations, we include year dummies,<sup>11</sup> and the country-specific GDP growth rate corresponding to the year when the young person finished education.

Our main interest is on the role of family characteristics in influencing STWs. More precisely, for parents and other working-age family members we use monthly employment status information referring to the three months before and the three months after the month in which young individuals left the education, and construct the following indicators. For each parent, we define three dummy variables indicating whether, over these six months, he/she was always employed, never employed, or partially employed (employed at least one month but less than six). For the other working-age family members<sup>12</sup> we construct a work intensity (WI) indicator as the ratio between the number of months in employment of all working-age members (during the six months), and the potential number of months the same members could have worked in the same period.<sup>13</sup> We define three different categories:  $WI = 1$ ,  $0 < WI < 1$  and  $WI = 0$ . Since the work-intensity indicator would be equal to zero both in the case where all family members did not work (during the six-month period) and in the case where no other working-age family member is present, we add a dummy variable to control for the latter case.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Data are taken from the Eurostat LMP database. ALMPs include categories from 2 to 7. We run the same specifications with passive labour market policy expenditures (categories 8 and 9) and result are similar. For details on the definitions of these expenditures see Eurostat (2012). We could not enter both active and passive labour market policies because of the high correlation between the two variables (see Berloff et al. 2015c).

<sup>9</sup> See Scarpetta (1996), Nickell and Layard (1999), Boone and van Ours (2004), and OECD (2006).

<sup>10</sup> While the indicator for regular contracts (EPL-P) measures the strictness of the employment protection against individual dismissals, the indicator for temporary contracts (EPL-T) refers to the strictness of regulation on the use of fixed-term and temporary work agency contracts. A higher value of EPL-P indicates a greater difficulty for firms in firing workers, whereas a higher value of EPL-T indicates a greater difficulty for firms in hiring workers on fixed-term contracts or through temporary work agency contracts. Detailed methodology is discussed in OECD (2013). The value of EPL-P, EPL-T and ALMPs included in the regressions refers to the first year of the trajectory.

<sup>11</sup> Year dummies refer to the year when young individuals have left education. Since individuals who left education in a later stage of the sequence may be less likely to have an in&out or a long search pathway, we control also for the number of months spent in education at the beginning of the sequence.

<sup>12</sup> Dependent children and persons aged over 65 and not employed are excluded from the indicator. Children are considered dependent if they are younger than 18 years old or aged over 18 but economically inactive.

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot distinguish between part-time and full-time employment in our monthly data.

<sup>14</sup> Notice, however, that the young individual may live with other persons in the households besides parents, such as brothers/sisters not in working-age, brothers/sisters in working-age but enrolled in education during the six-month period, persons older than 65 and not employed.

In order to check whether the role of the family employment structure changed over time (before and during the crisis), we interacted all employment status indicators with a dummy variable indicating whether the young individual left education during the crisis. However, since these interactions were jointly not significant for both males and females, in the next section we present only the results of a more parsimonious specification without interactions.<sup>15</sup>

## 2.2 Results

### 2.2.1 Marginal effects

Estimation of a multinomial logit for trajectory types separately for females and males yielded the results reported in tables A.1 and A.2 in the Appendix (expressed in terms of marginal effects for selected variables). With respect to individual and country characteristics, education has, as expected, large effects for both males and females. More precisely, the higher the educational level, the higher is the probability of being speedy (10 to 17 percentage points higher for each educational level) and the lower the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive, and in&out unsuccessful. Interestingly, having a tertiary education increases the probability of long search for males, while it reduces that of returning to education for females. Among our policy and institutional variables (ALMP expenditures and EPL indicators), only the regulation on permanent contracts seems to have some effects on youth trajectories. Counter-intuitively, the more stringent the regulation on individual dismissals, the higher is the probability of being speedy and the lower is the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive. For females, a more stringent regulation on regular contracts also reduces the probability of being in&out unsuccessful.

Parents' education affects only the educational choices of their children. We find evidence of a father-son and mother-daughter effect. Having a highly educated father raises the probability of returning to education for his son, and, similarly, for mothers and daughters.<sup>16</sup> Since parents' education is positively correlated with family permanent income, high parental educational levels could be associated with a higher probability of long search because a higher family income may induce young people to spend more time searching for a better job in terms of stability or skill-matching. However, our estimates do not show this type of effect.

Parental working conditions are instead of crucial importance in explaining youth school-to-work trajectories. For females, having a mother who worked continuously during the six-month period increases the probability of being speedy and in&out successful, while it reduces the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive or in&out unsuccessful. The size of the effects is large and similar to that of having an upper secondary educational level. A positive effect on the probability of

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<sup>15</sup> Results are available from the authors upon request.

<sup>16</sup> See also Carneiro and Heckman (2004) and Björklund and Salvanes (2011).



being speedy is found also if the mother worked only some months, but in this case, there are no effects on the other trajectory types. Generally, the working condition of the father has similar effects, although somewhat smaller. However, if the father worked only some months, the only significant effect is to increase female probability of being in&out unsuccessful. For males, the only significant effects are associated with parents working continuously during the six-month period. In this case, for both father and mother, we find similar positive effects on the probability of being speedy and negative effects on the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive. In other words, a stable working condition of parents is associated with more favourable entry trajectories for their children, whereas if the working condition of parents is unstable it has only some, not always positive, effects on female trajectories.

The working status of other family members also affects significantly young people trajectories. Specifically, when other working-age family members are employed (even if not all and/or not continuously), the probability of a speedy trajectory is much higher and that of being continuously unemployed/inactive much lower than in the case in which all other family members do not work.<sup>17</sup> The size of the marginal effects is very large and similar across gender. Somewhat similar effects are found if there are no other working-age family members in the household. In other words, there seems to be a negative effect on the entry process of young people when all working-age household members are not employed around the time when the individual leaves education. This negative effect is overcome if either no other working-age family members are present, or if they work (at least some of them for at least some months).

These results suggest that living in a family where someone works helps school-leavers to have a rapid entry into the labour market. At the same time, living in a family with non-working parents significantly raises youth probability of experiencing continuous unemployment or inactivity and the latter further increases if also other members of the family are at the margins of the labour market.

### 2.2.2 Predicted outcome probabilities and odds ratios by family type

In order to grasp the implications of our estimates, we computed predicted probabilities of being in a particular trajectory by family type (where the family type is defined according to the working status of both parents and other family members in working-age, if they are present) and use them to calculate odd ratios. Thus, we compare, *coeteris paribus*, the overall effect of living, say in a two-parent work-rich household or in a two-parent work-poor household, with or without other working-age family members.<sup>18</sup> Predicted probabilities are reported in table A.3 in the Appendix, while selected odds

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<sup>17</sup> For males, when other members are working, there is also a lower probability of returning into education and of being in&out unsuccessful.

<sup>18</sup> We consider “fictitious” individuals who have all the individual characteristics equal to the sample mean, except for the presence and work experience of the parents and other family members.



ratios are shown in table 2. We consider the odds of being speedy and continuously unemployed/inactive, that are the most representative trajectories, as well as those of returning to education. Odds are set equal to one if the probabilities in the different types of household are not significantly different.

Our estimates imply that, for example, a female in a two-parent household where both parents worked continuously and there are no other working-age family members, has a probability of 73% of being speedy and of 16% of being continuously unemployed/inactive. These probabilities become 54% and 34% respectively if both parents did not work. Furthermore, they become 38% and 53% respectively if, besides parents there are other working-age family members, and none of them worked. Similar evidence is found for males. This implies that, when no other members are present, the probability of being speedy for a young person living in a work-rich household is about 30% higher than for young individuals living in work-poor families. The probability of being continuously unemployed is instead about a half. When other working-age family members, besides parents, are present, odds are even larger. In this case, the probability of being speedy for young individuals living in work-rich households is double the one for young people living in work-poor families, while the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive is more than 70% lower.

Comparing trajectory probabilities in work-poor households and in households where either parents or the other working-age family members are working (mixed 1 and mixed 2 families in Table A.3), one can see that it is sufficient that someone works to have a significantly higher probability of a speedy trajectory, and a significantly lower probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive. Females living in families where *either* both parents *or* all other working-age members are employed, have a probability of being speedy that is almost 60% higher, and a probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive that is more than 40% lower than females living in work-poor families (i.e., where both parents and all working-age members are not working). Thus, for females, the working condition of parents (jointly considered) and that of all other family members have similar consequences. The same is true for males.<sup>19</sup> For them, however, the working condition of parents and of other family members have different effects on the probability of returning to education. When other working-age family members are present, the probability of returning to education for young males living in work-rich households or in families where only other family members are working is about a half compared to young males living in work-poor households. In other words, males living in work-poor households or in (large) families where other family members do not work are more likely to interrupt their educational career for short periods and then return to education, probably because of the difficulties encountered in entering the labour market.

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<sup>19</sup> For males, the working condition of other working-age family members seems to have larger effects than the working condition of parents. However, the probability of being speedy or continuously unemployed/inactive for young people living in families where parents do not work but other family members do (mixed 1) and those living in households where both parents work but other members do not (mixed 2) are not statistically different.

*Table 2 Odds for the probability of being speedy or continuously unemployed/inactive and of returning to education*

	Females	Males
<b>No other working-age family members (besides parents) are present:</b>		
<b>Work-rich vs Work-poor</b>		
Speedy	1.35	1.27
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.47	0.44
Return to education	1.00	1.00
<b>Other working-age family members (besides parents) are present:</b>		
<b>Work-rich vs Work-poor</b>		
Speedy	2.03	2.05
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.26	0.21
Return to education	1.00	0.48
<b>Mixed 1 vs Work-poor</b>		
Speedy	1.57	1.69
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.57	0.50
Return to education	1.00	0.50
<b>Mixed 2 vs Work-poor</b>		
Speedy	1.59	1.51
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.56	0.52
Return to education	1.00	1.00
<b>Mixed 1 vs Mixed 2</b>		
Speedy	1.00	1.00
Continuously unemployed/inactive	1.00	1.00
Return to education	1.00	0.42

*Note: Mixed 1 denotes a family where parent are not working but all other family members are employed. Mixed 2 denotes a family where the parents are employed while other family members do not.*

*Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2009-2012).*

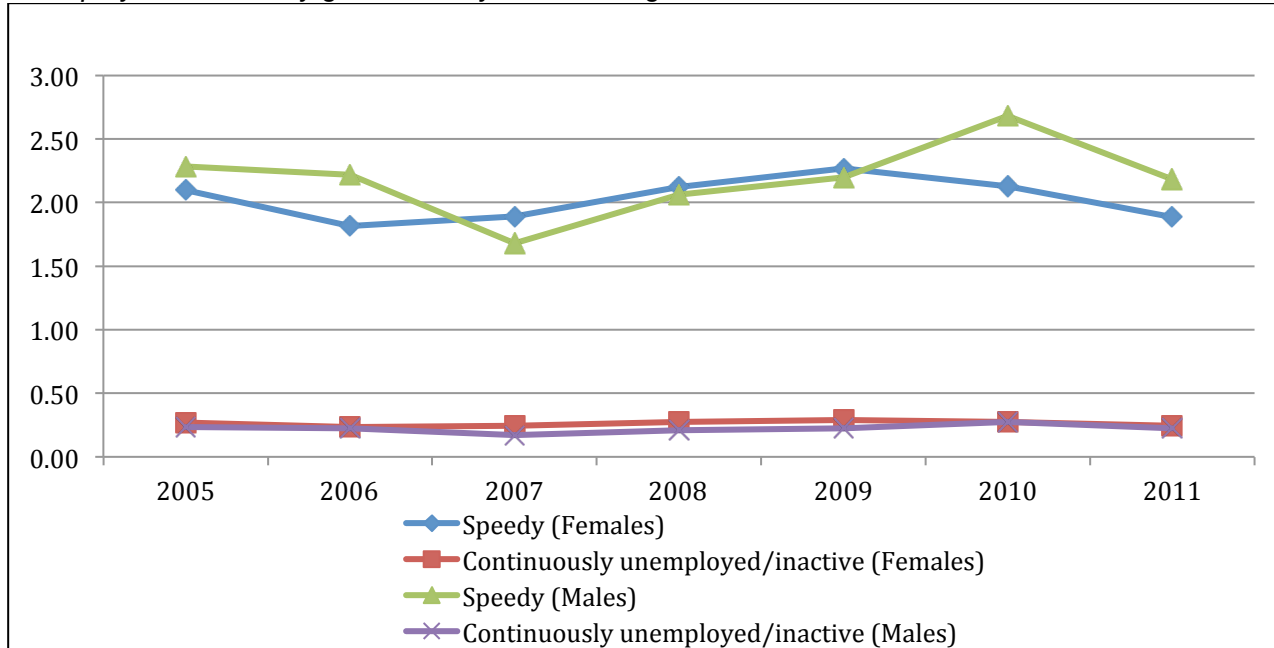
The role of the household working conditions on young people entry process did not change much over time, except for males' probability of experiencing a speedy trajectory.<sup>20</sup> In Figure 3 we plot the odds ratios of being speedy and continuously unemployed for young people living in work-rich and work-poor households (when other working-age family members are present<sup>21</sup>). The corresponding probabilities are reported in table A.4 in the Appendix. The relative advantage of females living in work-rich households in terms of the likelihood of being speedy, slightly increased between 2006 and 2009 and then slightly decreased. For males, instead, the odds increased significantly from 2007 to 2010 (from about 1.7 to 2.7) and then decreased in 2011. This is mainly due to a different reduction in the probability of being speedy for individuals living in work-poor and work-rich families. Indeed,

<sup>20</sup> As already mentioned in section 2.2, we also estimated a model with interactions between employment indicators and a dummy variable indicating whether the young individual left education during the crisis (period 2008-2011). These interactions were jointly not significant, for both male and females. However, given the non-linearity of the logit function, the odds are not constant over time, even though the estimated coefficients associated with the family employment structure are constant over time.

<sup>21</sup> Similar results are also obtained for young individuals living in families where no other working-age individuals are present, besides parents.

between 2007 and 2010, the probability of being speedy decreased from 50% to 27% in work-poor families and from 84% to 72% in work-rich families. This means that during the crisis, young individuals living in work-rich households were more protected from the increasing difficulties in entering the labour market than their peers living in work-poor families, especially males.

*Figure 3 Odds ratios (work-rich/work-poor) for the probability of being speedy or continuously unemployed/inactive by gender and year of exiting education*



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-Silc longitudinal data (2009-2012).

## 2.3 Working conditions of household members and youth transition trajectories

In this chapter we use the 2009 to 2012 longitudinal waves of EU-SILC to examine whether the working conditions of parents and other family members at the time when young people leave education affect youth integration process into the labour market. Following Berloffa, Mazzolini and Villa (2015), we distinguish six possible school-to-work trajectories: 1) speedy; 2) long-search; 3) in&out successful; 4) in&out unsuccessful; 5) continuously unemployed/inactive; 6) return to education.

Descriptive statics show that the time when young people left education, their educational level and the employment structure of the family of origin, all have large consequences for the type of trajectory experienced by young individuals. In particular, those who entered the labour market during the crisis (2008-2011), who are less educated, and who live in families where most of their members are not working were less likely to have a speedy trajectory and more likely to experience continuously unemployment or inactivity. For example, young individuals living in work-poor families have more

than double the probability of being continuously unemployed or inactive compared with young individuals in work-rich families.

The econometric analysis corroborates this evidence. Parental working conditions are of crucial importance in explaining youth school-to-work trajectories. A stable working condition of parents is associated with more favourable entry trajectories for both males and female school-leavers. The size of the effects is large and similar to that of having an upper secondary educational level. The working status of other working-age family members has also important consequences. There seems to be a negative effect on the entry process of young people when all working-age household members are not employed around the time when the individual leaves education. This negative effect is overcome if either no other working-age family members, besides parents, are present, or if they work (at least some of them for at least some months).

The relative probability of being in a particular trajectory for different family types is also quite interesting. When no other members are present, the probability of being speedy for young individuals living in work-rich households is about 30% higher than for those living in work-poor families. The probability of being continuously unemployed is instead about a half. When other working-age family members, besides parents, are present, odds are even larger. Our results suggest that it is sufficient that someone in the family works, either parents or other working-age members, to have a significantly higher probability of a speedy trajectory, and a significantly lower probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive.

The role of the household working conditions on young people entry process did not change much over time. However, during the crisis, young individuals living in work rich households were more protected from the increasing difficulties in entering the labour market than their peers living in work-poor families, especially males.

From a policy perspective, our empirical findings suggest that it is important to consider the employment structure of young people families, at about the time when they leave education. In particular, policy interventions should be targeted to young people living in households where parents or other family members do not work. These interventions should focus both on young people motivation, and on giving them access to an effective service of job search.

## 3. Employment strategies: duration in unemployment and early entrance

### 3.1 Young people between studies and the labour market

Here we focus, as in the previous chapter, on early labour market experiences. We do so in a different framework, by focussing on the trajectories of young people upon completion of a secondary or tertiary educational level. In this chapter we explore whether experience in unemployment at the early stage of employment career reflects on the occupational conditions (pay & skill level) reached by young individuals, net of individual and country characteristics. A transitory experience of low pay, especially at an early stage, might not be as detrimental to young people's life course opportunities and planning, as long term states of frailty such as low pay, unskilled or temporary employment.

In particular, we examine whether experiencing unemployment, discontinuity in employment or the type of entry job at the time when young people leave education affects the characteristics of their occupation three years later. For this purpose, we use monthly data on employment statuses from the 2005 to 2012 longitudinal waves of EU-SILC, to construct individual trajectories covering a period of 36 months following the completion of an educational level.

The departing point of this study is that, from a collective, institutional perspective, "any kind of job, be it short-term, part-time or subsidized, is better than no job at all to forestall unemployment hysteresis and deskilling." (Hemerijck & Eichhorst, 2010:327). However, from an individual level perspective, for young people in the first years of their employment careers, is it really always that any job is better than no job at all? A condition of unemployment, without income, carrying a consequent sizeable amount of stress, easily makes any job seem better than being at home jobless, also from an individual perspective. This view is also supported by several studies that testify of a positive relation between happiness, social integration and occupational status. Specifically, being employed, even if in a poor job, in the scholarly literature seems associated with a higher degree of happiness than being unemployed. No differences in the level of reported happiness have instead been found between inactive and employed (Layard, 2004). Job quality only matters to some extent, and often people in bad jobs, on average, are still better off than those who remain unemployed (Grün et al., 2010). However, previous research also found that being in a 'low quality job' is associated with lower levels of self-reported life satisfaction and happiness, as compared to being in a 'high quality job' (Sánchez-Sánchez & McGuinness, 2013; Gallie 2013a; Green et al 2014); an association that holds true across different institutional settings (Gallie 2007, 2009). The overall level of (dis)satisfaction can

be traced back to different factors: over-education, underemployment and employment conditions (contractual forms and salary levels) (Peiró et al., 2010). Specifically, the literature has explored the effects of several job characteristics and material circumstances of the job such as task autonomy, economic and personal rewards, a stimulant and supportive environment, training opportunities, contract security, work pressure and job control, among others (Gallie 2012; Gallie et al 2012; Gallie 2013b). Occupations can thus be distinguished along the lines of several characteristics that structure (and contribute to define) 'good' from 'bad' jobs. Among these there are several material (monetary and non-monetary) as well as non-material characteristics (Jencks et al., 1988). We can easily imagine that higher quality jobs are associated with higher educational levels (thus more task complexity, autonomy and control), higher salaries and thus higher degree of satisfaction. If we were to build a scale of young people's positions on the labour market on the basis of these three characteristics, a picture like that of figure 4 would emerge. In there (Fig. 4) at the bottom level are the unemployed people, followed by inactive, those employed in low quality jobs and, at the top, those holding high quality jobs.

*Figure 4 Scale of occupational positioning based on skills, wage and satisfaction*

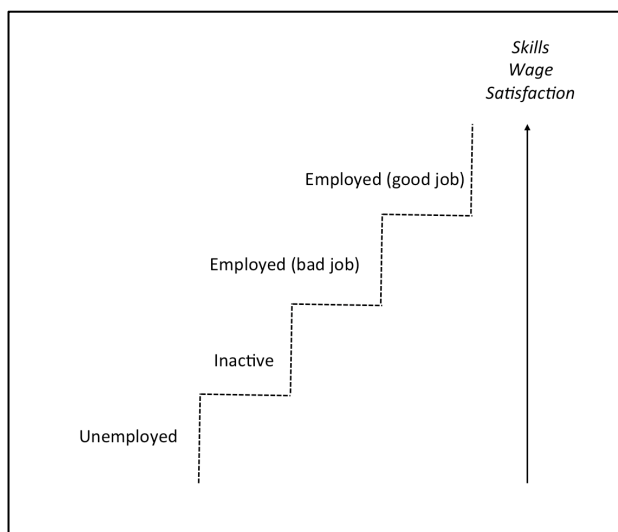


Figure 4 well reflects the argument that any job is better than no job. However, what could be a reasonable choice for first job seekers might not necessarily hold true also in a long(er) time framework, considering the long-term career goal of reaching well paid, good quality jobs. It is thus important to explore which are the most effective strategies, those with highest pay-offs for young people, for reaching this longer-term objective of a successful integration in the labour market. With respect to long(er) term outcomes, is it better for young people to accept the first job offer being achieved, or is it better to wait somewhat longer for a better match? In other words, beyond the personal satisfaction in the short term and in face of increasingly precarious labour markets (Wulfgramm & Fervers 2015), we investigate the effectiveness of different strategies for young people

on their securing a positive occupational outcome in the process of labour market integration. In this respect, whereas the job search behaviour is strategic in all phases of one's employment career, it is particularly so for new entrants at their early experiences. A longer wait at entrance for securing a better employment match, with familial resources mediating young people's aspirations and supportive of longer wait for a better match or prospect, may also be pursued to avoid intergenerational downward mobility, especially by those families that have experienced upward moves in the previous generation (Bernardi 2007). Or it might be one of the ways through which wealthier families guide their children more effectively towards successful employment routes, even net of their educational credentials and qualifications, as MacKnight (2015) suggests for the United Kingdom (chapter 4 will focus more clearly on this).

In this chapter we will try to answer to several questions related to young people's strategies in the labour market, to which the following sections are devoted: (1) does a longer time in unemployment lead to access a better job? (section 3.4.1); (2) does employment continuity influence the chances of accessing a better job? (section 3.4.2). In the next chapter, we will continue with: (3) does a bad entry job lead to more adverse employment outcomes later and, conversely, a good entry job lead to better employment outcomes later (section 4.1)? Does social class of the families of origin mediate their children strategies and outcomes in the labour market (section 4.2)?

For answering to all these questions, we use both cross-sectional (2011) and longitudinal data from EU-SILC surveys from 2005 to 2012, focussing on five selected countries, representative of the variety of 'youth transition regimes' (Walther 2006). We chose to adopt Walther's theoretical model because of its specific focus on youth in the transition from school to work and for its comprising those aspects framing the institutional settings, which affect most young people's entrance into the labour market. We also claim that is the combination of different structures (welfare regimes (Gallie and Paugam, 2000); work and structure of employment (Shavit and Müller, 1998; Gangl 2003) and educational and training systems (Allmendinger, 1989; Müller & Gangl 2003)), which results in the particular design of programmes for youth around employment (opportunities) and unemployment (risk and protection). Young people's biographies are embedded within transition systems, so that their aspirations and strategies reflect the resources and opportunities they perceive as functional and legitimate. Also on the basis of the available sample sizes, we selected one country per transition regime: Finland for the universalistic regime, the UK for the liberal, France for the employment-centred, Italy for the sub-protective model and Poland (we add to the original model) for the eastern European group of countries.

We selected young people (aged 16-34) who successfully completed a spell in education resulting in a higher educational level by their second interview and followed them for their successive 3 years. Analytical sample comprises all individuals with four valid interviews. Before detailing the analyses on the different strategies to enter the labour market, in the next section we will illustrate the



characteristics of the respective youth transition regimes and institutional contexts for the countries under study.

### 3.2 Successful young people in the context of different labour markets

As detailed in the country reports (work package 3), due to the different structure of employment, educational and welfare systems across countries, the experience of being, and opportunities offered to, a young person in a Scandinavian country like Finland, is rather different to that of an Italian peer, in Southern Europe, with similar characteristics. The same holds true for a French or Polish peer, as well as for the process and outcomes of their respective job search. This is because the transition process from school to establishing in secure employment is structured by an intertwined system of socio-economic conditions, institutional arrangements and cultural patterns (Brizinsky-Fay 2007, Schrerer 2005).

In this process, many are the differences that distinguish the chosen countries. Great Britain, in contrast to Germany, is often viewed as representative of the loose process of coordination between educational and employment (Scherer 2005, Hannan et al., 1997), and is where the rate of working students is higher. Italy is among the countries with the lower level of educational attainment, with only weakly developed vocational training systems, targeted more towards those who underperformed in the general education system, as in France (Scherer 2005, Smith et al. 2015). In France, like in Italy (and Spain), segmentation of the job market is particularly challenging for young people, with a strong divide between higher security labour market and temporary positions with precarious contracts, which make for a prolonged transition to secure employment through an array of (often poorly or non paid) stages, internships, and training contracts. France and Italy, however, are rather different with respect to the proportion of tertiary educated, to the level of youth unemployment and to the welfare measures in support of unemployed or low income young people (through unemployment, guaranteed minimum income and housing benefits), and to the size of informal labour market. However, while Italy, the UK and France would cluster together as countries characterised by internal labour markets (ILM), Finland would lie more on the spectrum of an occupational labour market (OLM) with Denmark, Sweden and Germany (Müller & Gangl 2003).

In Walther's (2006) youth transition regime framework, the countries of the *universalistic model* (the Nordic countries), set flexible standards in education and training at the national level within a comprehensive school system, leaving room for individual learning and training plans. Post-compulsory level education leads almost 80 per cent of school leavers with entitlement to access higher education. Social responsibility and universal rights guide welfare provision. The right to social assistance is linked to citizenship and applies to young people starting from 18 years old, regardless of the socio-economic situation of their families. An educational allowance is given to those enrolled in



formal education or training. In Finland, students are exempted from paying tuition fees at public universities and polytechnics. Counselling is widespread across all stages of education, training and transition into employment, and is intended to orient individuals for reinforcing their motivation for personal development and individual choice.

In the *liberal* transition regime (UK and Ireland) individual rights and self-responsibilities prevail over collective provisions. In most of UK a comprehensive school system reaches until 16 years, after which, recently, the post-compulsory stage has been developed and diversified for granting more space for vocational and academic routes. Welfare provisions start at age 18, with entitlement to jobseeker's allowance tied to citizenship, but with a low level of benefits, time-limited and conditional on active job search. An emphasis on economic independence is backed by a flexible labour market, with many access options, but with a generally low qualification of the workforce (Walther 2006).

The *employment-centred* transition regime comprises Germany and the Netherlands along with France (in this study). Schooling is designed to allocate young people's occupational careers in different segments (in France, vocational training is school-based rather than company-based as in Germany), and tuition fees in public universities are very low by international comparison (capped for undergraduate studies). Labour markets are segmented between a highly standardized, protected core and precarious peripheries (Walther 2006, Smith et al 2015). Welfare provisions reflect this segmentation with higher level of compensation through social insurance schemes for those included in standard work arrangements and a residual social assistance-based system for the rest, with young people not automatically covered unless have contributed a certain amount to the social insurance scheme. In this regime young people struggle their way between restricted options for individual choice and strong demands from (and incentive to) standard trajectories.

The *sub-protective* transition regime includes the southern European countries (Italy in this study). Here schooling is structured comprehensively until the end of compulsory education, while vocational training is poorly developed and mainly confined to poor performers in the general system. Due to the low intensity of technological development of the productive system and the economic weakness of many regions, youth transitions often imply a long waiting phase also for highly educated. Young people are not entitled to any social benefits and most often engage in precarious jobs, either in the informal economy or in fixed-term contracts. Labour market segmentation, poorly performing industry, blocked public employment recruitment, increasingly flexible service sector (with contracts by the month or by the day, directly by enterprises or through temporary work agencies) and high degree of informal work contribute to very high rates of youth unemployment. Labour market policies focus mainly on further liberalisation of temporary contracts (Bernardi and Nazio 2005) with the intended scope of creating employment, through incentives for employers (e.g. subsidies or reduced contribution for training contracts, more recently the Jobs Act), ease to dismissal, development of career guidance and assistance into self-employment. This transition system does not increase young

people's choice, flexibility or security, which depend instead on the extent of family support and access to informal work for bridging long waiting periods.

The educational system in Poland comprises three main, hierarchical levels from primary school to upper secondary school. All pupils proceed through lower-secondary school before tracking between higher performers, most likely to pursue general or technical high school, and lower performers, usually choosing basic vocational schools (an infrequent option, like in France and Italy). Although recent trends show rising interest in vocational schools at the expense of general education, and despite numerous systemic changes in the past few years, the mismatch between the skills requested and those provided in vocational schools remain to be bridged (Ślęzak and Szopa 2015). The vocational training system is supplemented by the crafts system, where various certificates and professional titles can be obtained. Although professional qualifications may be gained through various paths (courses, external examinations, post-secondary training), the rather complex and highly regulated nature of the educational system does not allow for flexibility between various paths. Both general and professional high schools allow access to tertiary education, but there is an increasing gap between the growing number of graduates and the number of skilled jobs openings available. Working students, upon studies completion, have an easier transition to the labour market. Also in Poland higher education lowers the risk of unemployment, and the highest rate is registered among young people with primary education (Ślęzak and Szopa 2015).

These contextual differences are reflected in young people's decisions around education and employment, (length of) unemployment or inactivity in each country. With Italy, France and Germany reflecting a higher tension between core and peripheral positions in the labour market for those employed (Schmid 2008) following the liberalization in the use of more flexible jobs (for a review on precariousness and insecurity, see O'Reilly et al. 2009) and welfare retrenchment with reduction of social benefits in Bismarckian countries (Hemerijck and Eichhorst 2010). For example, the proportion of students in a country will depend on individual people's situated choices, aspirations and dispositions, but also on the structure of their respective educational systems and on the average lengths of the different educational routes and degree of enrolment in tertiary education (its cost, access, financial or housing support, etc). The proportion of inactive, unemployed or employed young people will also be a function of the respective labour markets (Gallie 2007a, 2007b, 2013, Van Lancker 2012, Hipp et al. 2015), timing and modes to family formation (Gassen and Perelli-Harris 2015, Billari and Liefbroer 2010, Kalmijn 2007, Perelli-Harris and Lyons-Amos 2015), gender division of labour therein (i.e. the 'work-family articulation') (Crompton and Lyonette 2006, Daly 2011, Orloff 1993) and not least of the regulation of labour market and income support measures (Palier 2010, Gallie and Paugam 2000, Barbier 2011, Leschke 2008).

*Table 3 Share of sample in each occupational status by country*

	Employed	Unemployed	Student	Inactive	Total	N
Finland	61.8	5.5	26.0	6.7	100	238
France	38.8	7.2	50.7	3.3	100	720
Italy	40.8	9.8	38.5	10.9	100	814
Poland	53.7	10.3	28.2	7.8	100	695
United Kingdom	67.3	8.5	17.0	7.2	100	223

*Source: Authors' calculation on EU-SILC (unweighted)*

As we can see in Table 3, different national contexts are associated with different the proportion of young people in each occupational status. We thus observe that Finland, together with the UK, displays the higher rate of young people in employment. In Finland, however, unlike in the UK, a much greater proportion of our sample, over 70%, is found working in skilled occupations (results available on request). Employment rates are lower in Poland, followed by Italy and France, which have in turn a higher rate of young people pursuing further education. The rate of inactive young people is highest in Italy, the country with the highest prevalence of NEETs, temporary and informal work for young people. These preliminary figures testify a rather heterogeneous scenario in which young people's agency can be deployed, depending on their countries of residence for their economies and systems of social protection.

Not only the occupational status, but also the proportion of young people found in different occupational classes, for those employed, is a function of both individuals' preferences and characteristics, and of the different set of constraints and opportunities set by the characteristics of the labour markets, welfare and family models in each of the countries. Occupational characteristics, especially task complexity (as proxied by occupational skills in this study) is in turn a predictor of employment likelihood of success (Reichelt 2015).

In this chapter we are interested in the strategies young people adopt in the process of establishing successfully in the labour market. We will now explore in turn which elements might affect the rate of success of young people's experiences, testing whether individuals' employment strategies are enacted as response to different originating mechanisms across countries.

### 3.3 The way to a better job: quick entrance and few interruptions

Longer periods in unemployment are often the outcome of two different circumstances being faced in the labour market. The first is the difficulty of finding a job: those looking for employment and ready to start immediately, but who can not find paid work. The second circumstance for being unemployed is not having taken up a job being offered. The choice to be selective and take the uncertainty and risk of a long(er) wait, rather than accepting 'any' job, inevitably postpones the onset of one's occupational

career and prolongs the duration in unemployment, but it could also be seen as a strategic move. This is so for any job seekers, but becomes more salient for young people who are moving from education to work for the first time. It is particularly significant for those attempting to enter internal labour markets compared to those in systems with generalist education (Müller & Gangl 2003). We could understand this choice within the framework of a rational strategy oriented towards the satisfaction of one's preferences with respect to long term income and employment stability. Empirical evidence shows that beginning a professional career with a 'bad job', i.e. low skilled, low paid, or both, can become a real career trap (Barbera et al. 2010, Barone & Schizzerotto 2011, Gash 2008, Reichelt 2015), in several European countries (Barone et al. 2011, Blossfeld et al. 2008, Bukodi & Goldthorpe 2011, Hillmert 2011, Wolbers et al. 2011, Schrer 2005). Indeed, upward moves in the labour market depend not only on the readiness and availability to pick up emerging opportunities, but also on the ability to wait for the 'right opportunity'. Especially at the early stages of one's career, the opening of opportunities might often entail good perspectives from initially unstable and poorly paid jobs (e.g. internships, stages, short term training contracts). However, in order to avoid the negative consequences of speedy integration into poor quality jobs (Hipp et al 2015), young people will incur longer unemployment spell(s). We explore the effects of both unemployment duration and employment continuity on the likelihood to obtain a 'good job' three years after achieving a secondary or tertiary educational qualification.

### 3.4 Good and bad jobs: a typology of successful outcome

Using the dimensions of skills and wages we distinguish four possible states: 'successful' (high wages and high skills) 'investment', 'need', and 'failure' (Fig 5). A 'successful' state is when a young people enter a skilled and well-paid job. An 'investment' state is where a skilled position has been reached at the trade-off of a lower salary. Jobs requiring higher skills or qualifications may initially be poorly paid to begin with, but over time can result in much better wage returns. Well-paid is defined as above the median wage of all employed individuals in each country each year.<sup>22</sup>

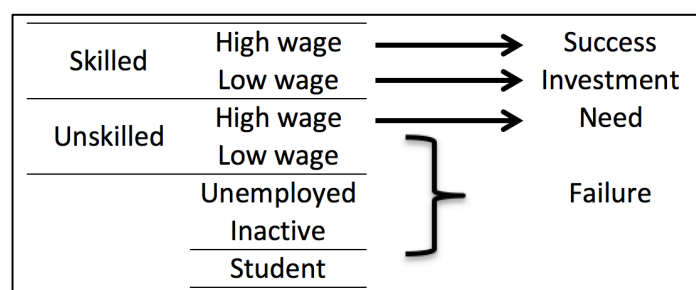


Figure 5 Typology of occupational positioning based on skills and wage

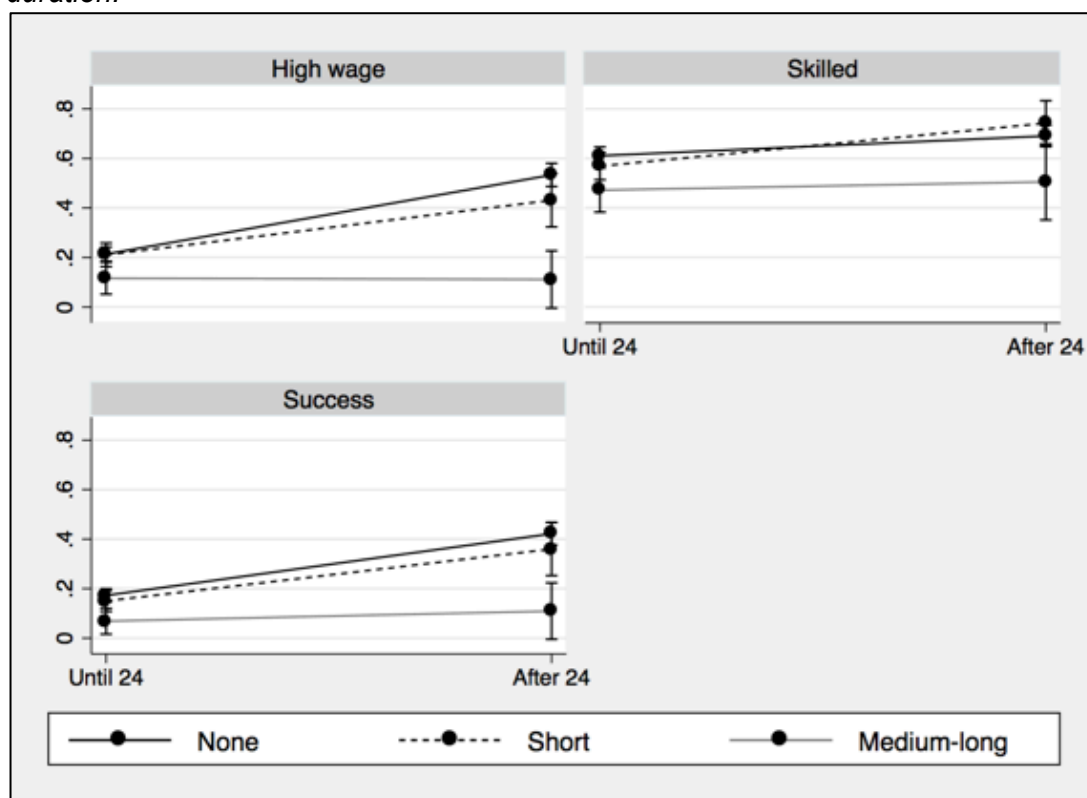
<sup>22</sup> Country and yearly-based figures computed on annual wages of full-time employed.

Skilled occupations are defined on the basis of ISCO-88 codes: high-skilled non-manual occupations (ISCO 11–34), low-skilled non-manual occupations (ISCO 41–52), skilled manual occupations (ISCO 61–83) and elementary occupations (ISCO 91–93) (Pintelon et al. 2011: 56-57). We considered both manual and non-manual skilled occupations.

### 3.4.1 Duration in unemployment and employment outcomes

We now turn to the role of unemployment duration. Young people in the first years of their employment careers, upon study completion, can ideally manage a quick insertion in the labour market and pursue a continuous attachment. But they may instead remain out of employment for longer, either voluntarily, because they choose to wait longer, or involuntarily, because they are unable to find a suitable job. We now test the effect of unemployment duration in the early phase of young people career on the probability to access to a high wage occupation, a skilled occupation, or both conditions jointly (a 'success' state). We codified the overall duration in unemployment over the 48 observation months (Fig 6). 'None' refers to individuals who either had no periods, or a maximum of one month in unemployment. 'Short' refers to those with up to 6 months of unemployment; and 'medium-long' to those who experienced a total period of unemployment spell(s) lasting longer than 6 months. The sample comprises all individuals with 4 completed interviews, and who were employed in the last observation.

*Figure 6 Probability to be in a high wage, skilled or successful job by age and unemployment duration.*



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2005-2012).

We ran separate logit models on EU-SILC longitudinal monthly data, predicting the occupational condition reached three years after completing a secondary or tertiary qualification, for those employed. Three different models explored the probability, for those employed, to be found in a high wage occupation, in a skilled occupation or to be in a 'success' state (both high wage and skilled occupation). Results for the effect of the average effect for the duration in unemployment of the three models are shown jointly in Figure 6. All models use controls for age, gender, educational level, country and number of employment episodes.

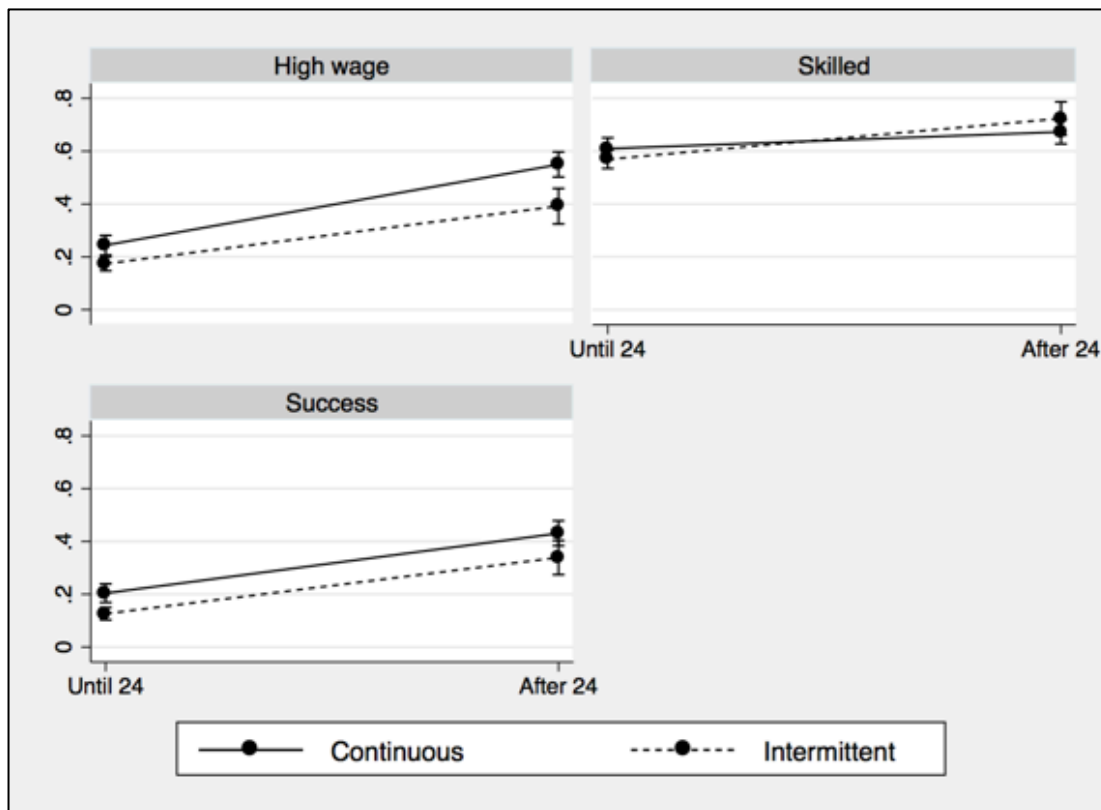
The probability to be found in a high wage position after three years (top left graph) is lower for those aged over 24, with a medium-long duration (more than 6 months) of total unemployment compared to those who had no record, or less than 6 months of having being unemployed. Having being unemployed for less than six months did not make for any observable difference in getting a high skilled occupation compared to those who had never been unemployed. However, differences in the effect of unemployment duration were more perceptible on wage attainment than on reaching a skilled occupation after 3 years (top left graph).

Each model has been tested also for interaction effects between country dummy variables and duration in unemployment, an effect that did not prove statistically significant. This lack of significance in the interaction term points to country specific 'baseline' probabilities to be in each state (high skills, high wage or successful occupation), but not to different effects of the duration in unemployment across countries. Lack of statistical significance may either be due to a small sample size, or to a similar mechanism, across countries, linking length of unemployment to successful outcomes (especially wages).

### 3.4.2 Continuity in employment and employment outcomes

We further explored any effects of the entry process on the employment outcome three years after obtaining a qualification. Specifically we tested for effects due to the timing of unemployment. We distinguished between those with few unemployment spells during the search for a first job, and the frequency of unemployment (i.e. the number of job interruptions). We examine the results on the effect of continuity in employment, where 'continuity' is defined as having none or only one spell of unemployment. In other words the current employment situation is achieved with no interruptions, or at most one, rather than with more frequent interruptions (intermittent employment).

Figure 7 Probability to be in a high wage, skilled or successful job by continuity in employment.



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-Silc longitudinal data (2005-2012).

The results (Figure 7) show that continuity in employment does not have any clear statistically significant effect on either the skills levels of the occupation achieved or the 'success', if employed, after three years from obtaining a secondary or tertiary qualification. However, for those who are older than 24 years, high wage are more likely for those who have been continuously employed (graph in the top left part of Figure 7, High wage).

Continuity has a marginally significant effect on the probability of being in a 'successful occupation' for the younger group (19-24 years) (bottom left graph of Figure 7, confidence intervals at the 95% level). This points to a small positive effect of a quick entry: the shorter the search, i.e. the quicker the entry after finishing education, the slightly more likely they are to be found in a successful occupation. Again, no statistically significant effect was found for the interaction term between country and continuity. These results suggest that both employment continuity and taking less time to find a first job have some advantages, they are not as great as we might have expected.

To summarise, we detected some small effects on the employment outcomes investigated (high wage, skilled employment or 'success' occupation) from entering quickly or not spending too long in unemployment during this relatively short time window of observation (three years). This could be specific of the early stage of the employment career, confirming that, despite a clear but not strong

advantage of continuous employment attachment and an early start, a short-term period of unemployment does not appear to impair subsequent outcomes as much as we might have expected. It is the medium-long experience of unemployment (of 6 or more months over the three years) that has the greater impact; whether this experience is in a single short spell or in the accumulation of several shorter spells, longer periods of unemployment clearly negatively affect the chances of occupational success, especially in terms of wages, and for those aged 24 and older (Figure 6). A slightly longer initial wait before first entering employment, or a turbulent beginning (Figure 7), seems to affect the wage dimension the most for those over 24. For younger workers these factors have more of an impact on their likelihood of making a transition to 'successful' job.

Net of the country differences in the proportion of young people being employed and experiencing the measured outcomes, we found no differences by country specific differences in mediating the effects of either continuity in employment or unemployment duration.

In the next chapter we examine access to occupations after graduating from school or college and the effect on the kind of job achieved three years later.



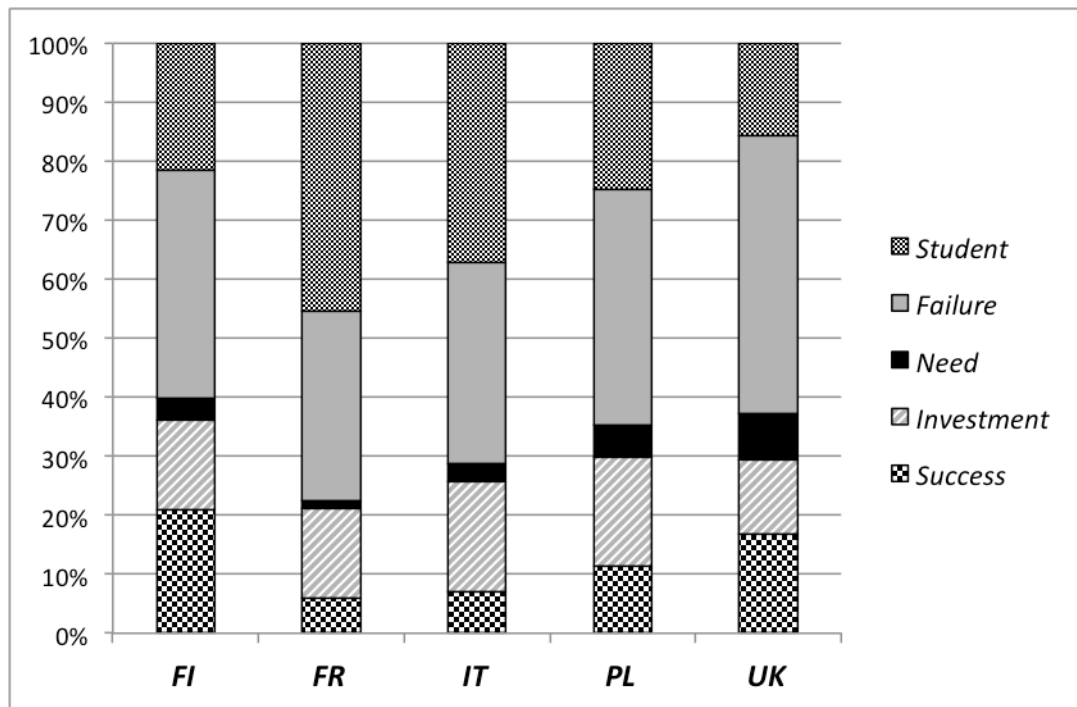
## 4. Employment strategies: better start and social class of origin

### 4.1 Earlier entrance or waiting for a better start?

The analyses presented so far seems to support the idea that any job is always better than joblessness. But is it really this the entire account? The empirical evidence presented so far is not enough to show how young people are not being trapped into poorly paid and low qualified jobs. What it shows instead is that there seem to be career tracks (early entrance and few interruptions) that overall lead to more favourable outcomes. To deepen our understanding it becomes crucial to explore further young people's initial position in the labour market. We will now turn to the changes between the first job held the year after educational spell completion and that observed three years after (for those employed).

We analyse young people's occupational position the year after upper secondary or tertiary degree completion, by way of the typology presented in Figure 5. The distribution of individuals across categories in the five countries considered varies considerably (Figure 8). The shares of young people reaching a condition of 'successful occupation' by the fourth year are higher in Finland and the UK. By contrast, the smaller shares are registered in France and Italy (two countries with generalist education systems and a strongly dualised labour market). These two latter countries are also those with the higher share of youth still in education. Worth noticing also how the share of young people in a 'investment' condition, i.e. that of a skilled occupation but paid below the median income, is very similar across the five countries, only slightly lower in the UK. These differences are easily traced back to those previously observed and recall the relevance of the different institutional contexts (see section 3.2). Here we will not focus directly on how the occupational conditions of young people change across different countries (reflecting their institutional contexts), but rather if the strategies pursued by young people are different across countries in their effects. In other words, regardless of the larger or smaller amount of 'success' positions observed in each country, we will investigate which are the most effective strategies for young people to reach them. Specifically, we will focus on the relevance of a 'good employment entry', with a good matching in skilled occupations.

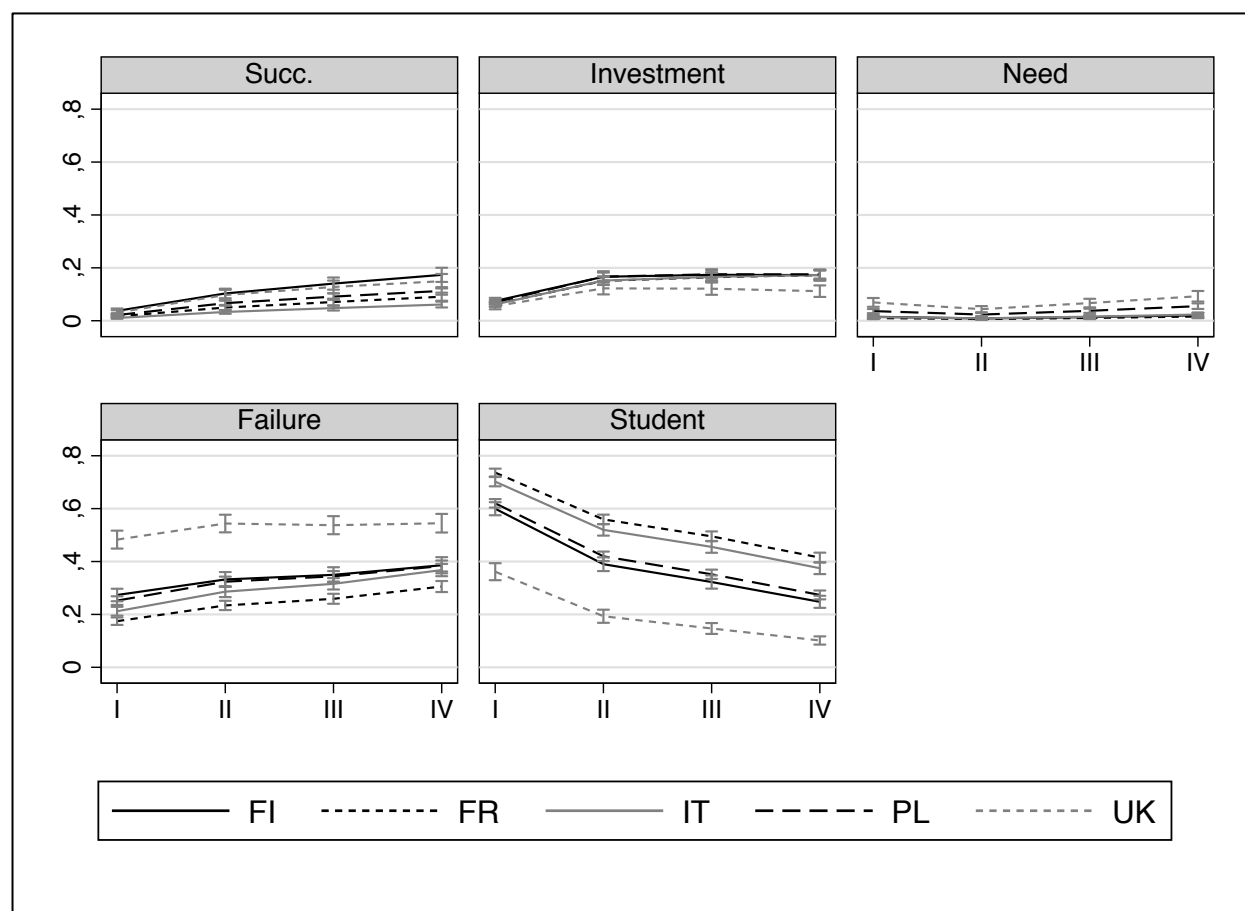
Figure 8 Share of young people by occupational typology and country (in the fourth year).



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2005-2012).

Moving from a cross-sectional to a longitudinal perspective (Figure 9), we can observe that all countries trends move in the same direction over time. Within a prevailing stability in the four years period considered, the statistically significant differences are concentrated in the bottom two graphs: the conditions of Failure and Student. We can observe that, despite similar trends across countries, starting levels are rather different, in particular for the UK with a higher share of young people either unemployed or employed in unskilled or low paid occupations already before the completion of an educational degree. These categories obviously comprise many working students or students willing to start a job. Concerning students, we register a decrease over time, with a slower gradient in France and Italy, reflecting shorter educational careers at the tertiary level and a larger prevalence of vocational education in the United Kingdom and Finland.

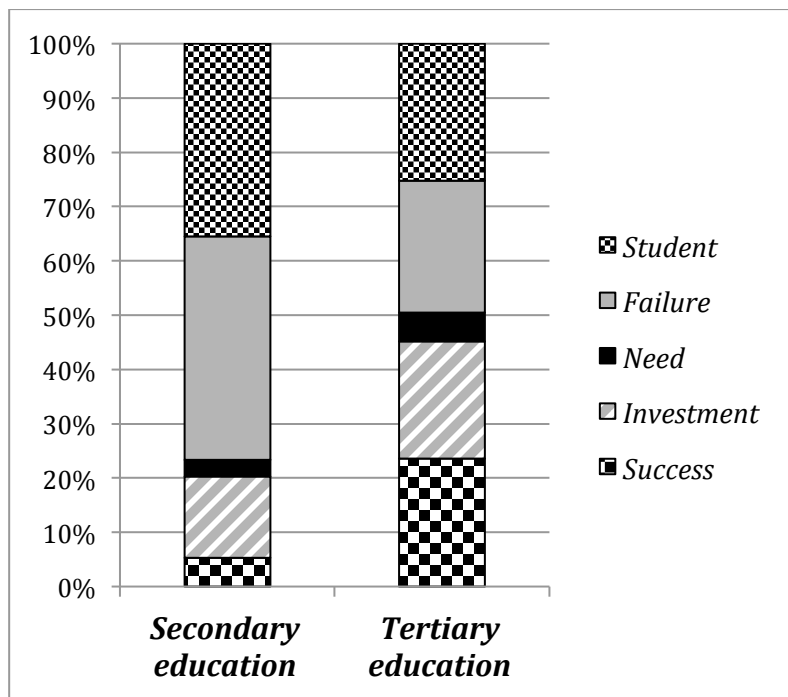
Figure 9 Share of young people by occupational typology and country over the four years observed.



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2005-2012).

The share of students remains rather high because the selected sample comprises degree completion at both the upper secondary and tertiary (lower and upper) levels. As reflected in previous literature, the probabilities to be enrolled in education or in a condition of 'success' vary substantially between graduates from these two educational levels. Achieving a secondary degree is associated with higher chances to continue enrolment in education, while obtaining a tertiary degree is associated with higher chances to reach a skilled position, either well paid or not. In line with previous literature, our data confirm a competitive advantage of tertiary graduated with respect to upper secondary school leavers.

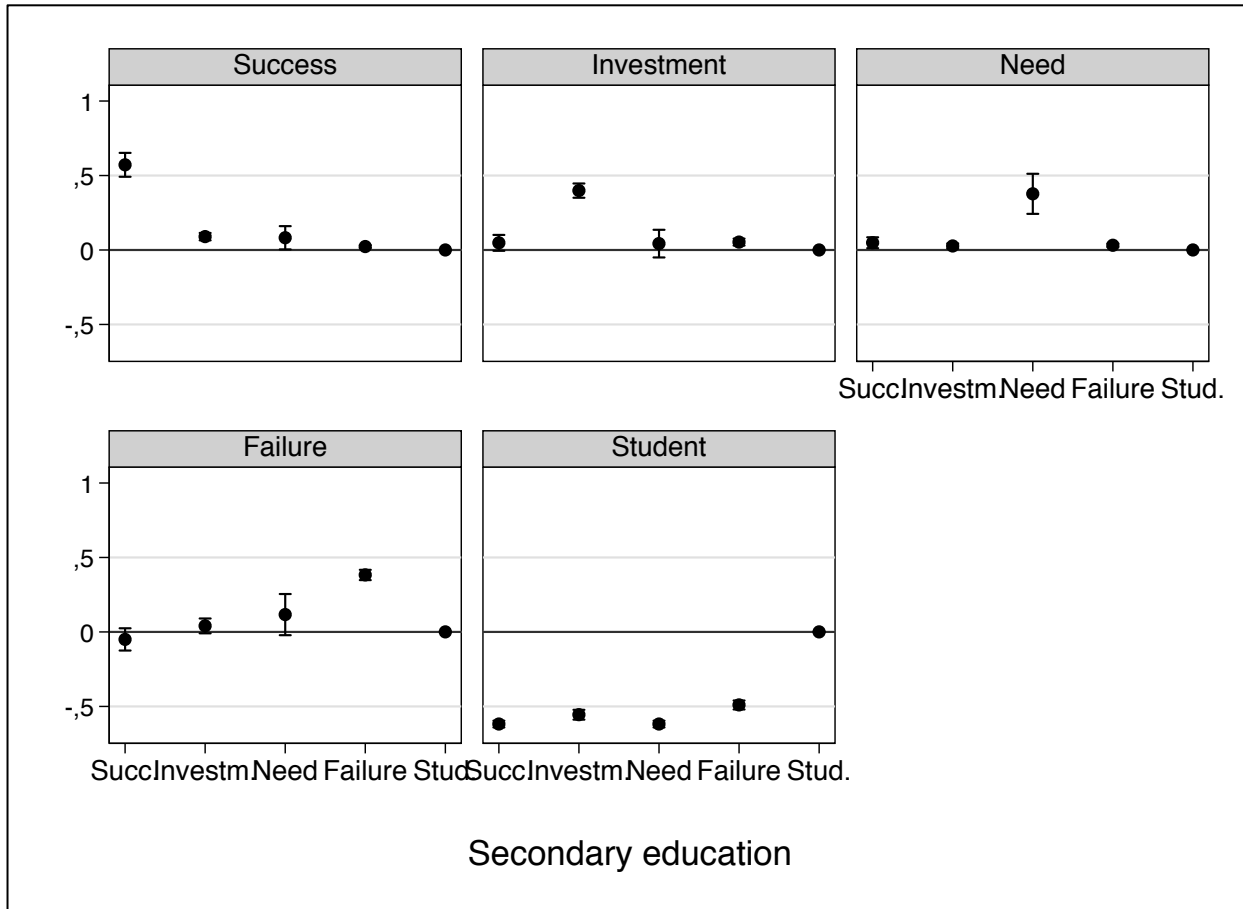
*Figure 10 Typology by educational level (in the fourth year).*



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2005-2012).

These findings suggest turning the analyses to the occupational condition three years after educational level completion, separately by educational level achieved. To explore the effect of entry occupational conditions on the job held three years after (using the typology devised in Figure 5), we estimated multinomial logit models with EU-SILC longitudinal data, separately for secondary and tertiary educated, adopting controls for age, country and sex. Interaction effects with reference country have been estimated but the effect estimates were not statistically significant.

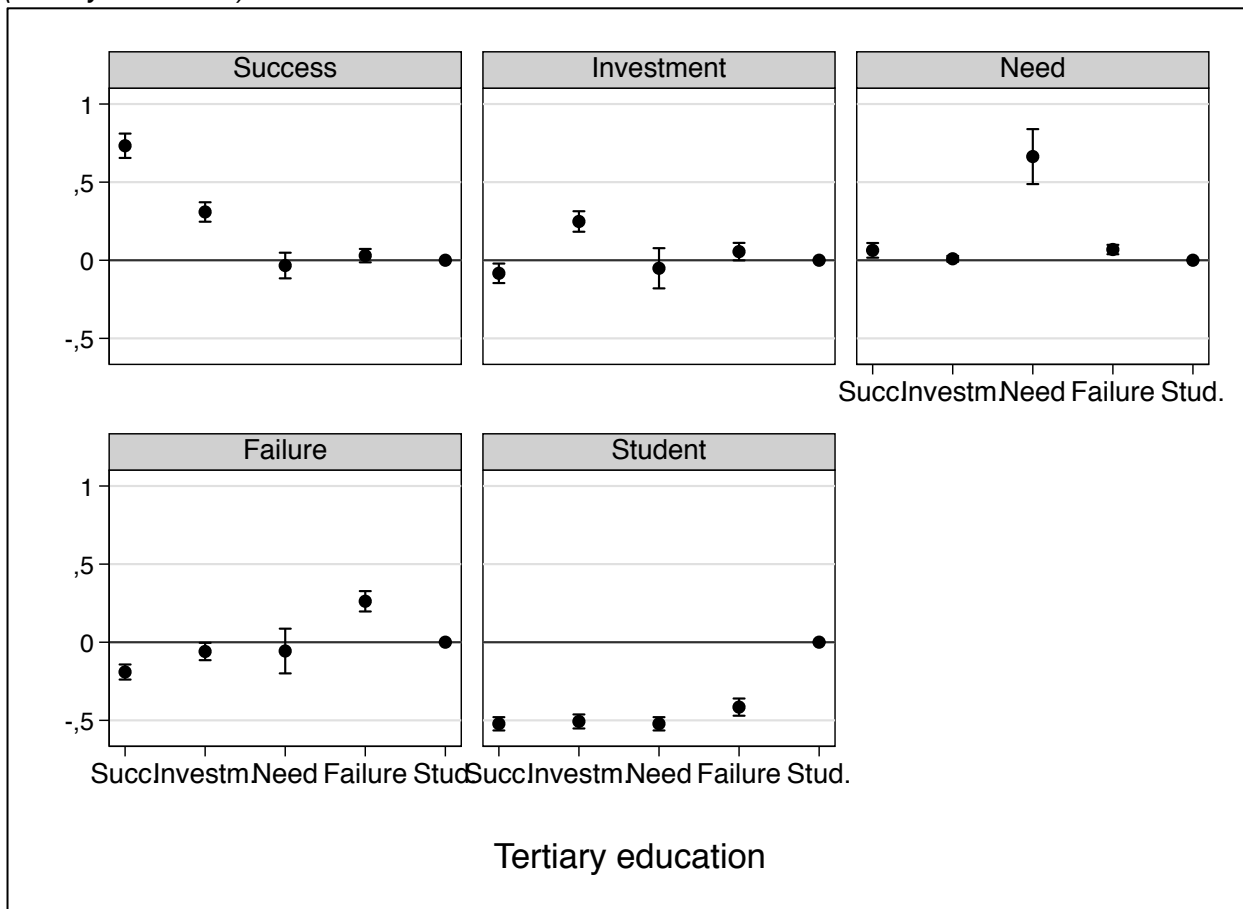
Figure 11 Difference in probabilities for every occupational status as compared to being students, (secondary education)



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2005-2012).

Results are displayed in Figure 11, which shows the difference in probabilities for every occupational status as compared to being students, for every initial condition. The figure shows a high persistence for all statuses. For those who accomplished a secondary level of education, being in a 'failure' state has a higher probability to remain so after three years (Failure graph in Figure 11, point above the line). It is so for all other statuses as well: need, investment and success. However, as can be seen in the graph at the top-left part of the figure, those who were initially in an 'investment' state have also somewhat higher chances to be found in a 'success' status later (Success graph in Figure 11, second point above the line). This effect is small but statistically significant. The effect of 'investment' goes in the same direction but is stronger for tertiary graduated, as can be seen in the second graph (Success graph in Figure 12, second point above the line). For highly educated the results are very similar, if not for a much higher efficacy of the 'investment' status (a skilled job initially lowly paid). This effectiveness, accepting a matching job even if poorly paid at the beginning but with an increasing return over time, qualifies these choices as a possible real strategic move in the labour market.

Figure 12 Difference in probabilities for every occupational status as compared to being students, (tertiary education)



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU- SILC longitudinal data (2010-2012).

## 4.2 Employment strategies by family of origin

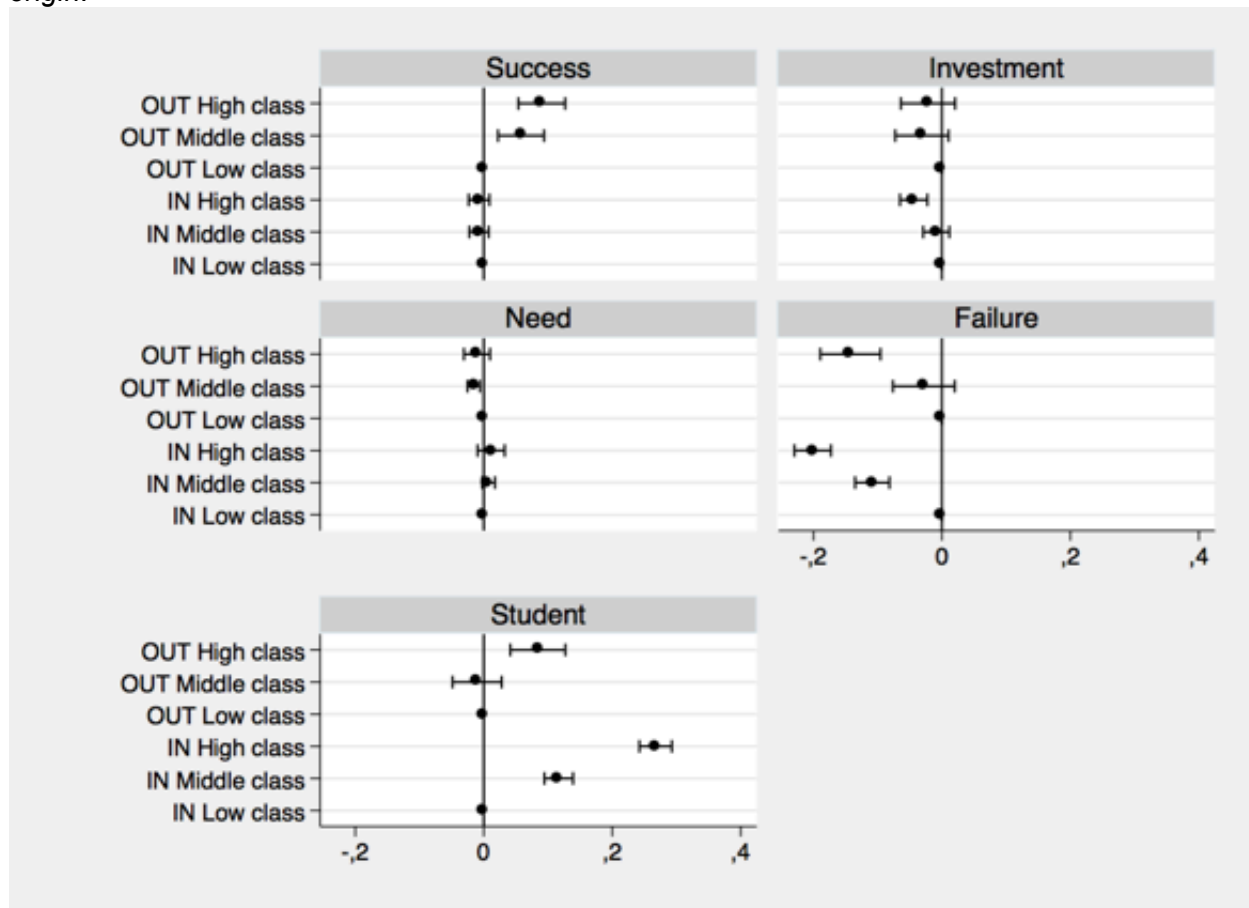
We have so far seen how the probability to be in one of the four outcome states of the proposed typology (success, investment, need or failure, see Figure 5) varies according to the duration in unemployment experienced, to the continuity of employment and to the conditions of entry into the labour market. We now inspect further how it varies according to their social class of origin. We have used for this purpose the cross-sectional EU-SILC 2011 data, which contain a special ad-hoc module on intergenerational transmission of disadvantages. In this module it is possible to obtain information on the educational level achieved by young people's parents, also for those who have already left the family of origin.<sup>23</sup> The subsample for our analysis comprises all young people below 34 years who

<sup>23</sup> Building an indicator on the social class of origin on the basis of available Eu-Silc data is confronted with two limitations. The first concerns the question framing: in the ad-hoc module it is asked about parents' educational level when the respondent was aged 14, while for those who live with their parents the measure is taken at the time of interview. The second, more serious limitation, is that information of parents for those who live independently are only asked for people aged between 25 and 59. This means we are lacking information on

have obtained a secondary or tertiary educational qualification less than 5 years ago, for a total of 11824 young people. We estimated the probability to be found in one of the four states of the illustrated in the typology described in earlier paragraphs (Figure 5). We tested for the social class of origin as defined on the basis of the higher educational level between young people's mothers and fathers (criteria of dominance, Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992). Social class of origin, as based on education, is classified in three categories: high (tertiary), middle (upper secondary) and low (primary and lower secondary).

Multinomial logit models are controlled for gender, age, living independently or with parents and country. Interaction effects with reference country have been estimated but the effect estimates proved not statistically significant. For ease of interpretation, we will present again the main results in the form of average predicted probabilities (marginal effects). More specifically, we illustrate the differences in probability for each category with respect to be living with one's own parents and coming from a lower class ('IN Low class' in Figure 13).

*Figure 13 Differences in the probability of being in each of the types of the typology by social class of origin.*



Source: Authors' calculation based on EU-SILC cross-sectional data (2011).

those who already left the parental home at the time of interview, but are not yet 25 years old. In our sample they amount to around 17%.

Results from Figure 13 show clearly a statistically significant effect of social class of origin on young people's occupational conditions within 5 years from obtaining an educational qualification. Among those who left the parental household, we see that belonging to a high or middle social class increases the probability to be in a 'success' status (first two lines of top left graph in Figure 13). In other words, all else being equal, success is more likely for the more advantaged strata of young people (a result in line with McKnight 2015 for the UK). We also show that, among those who reside with their parents, youth from the high class have a lower probability to be in an 'investment' condition (i.e. skilled job but low paid) than their peers from lower and middle classes. These results point to a better capacity of wealthier families to have their children proceed more frequently and faster into skilled and well paid occupations (being it through counselling, guidance, referrals, soft skills or social networks), whereas longer co-residence with ones parents and resorting to initially low paid occupations might be the most effective strategy for children from other backgrounds to reach consistent employment. A more frequent or longer co-residence could be an effective way for middle classes to be able to obtain/accept skilled jobs, although (at least initially) poorly paid, but with interesting perspectives of future opportunities. We also show that the probability to be found in a 'failure' condition is lower for both young people from higher and middle classes when still living with their parents (graph 'failure' in figure 13). Finally, a similar effect of social class of origin and residence with ones' parents is also found around the decision to continue education (as seen also in chapter 2 of this report and in deliverable 8.1). As before, it is young people from the higher and middle classes living with their parents who have a higher probability to keep enrolled in the educational system and afford further educational investments (bottom graph in figure 13). All these findings highlight the persistence of a clear class divide for young people. The pursuit of 'higher profile' career paths, here skilled jobs, is made easier for youth from higher social class, while for children from other social backgrounds staying longer in the parental home may be the most viable option to secure better employment prospects.

In this chapter we examined whether the family background plays a role in influencing the strategies and occupational conditions (pay & skill level) reached by young individuals, compared with the individual and country characteristics. Amongst these inequalities, we found that parental resources matter. Wealthier parents not only help their children by affording them higher educational achievements, by using their social networks, or by finding them useful unpaid internships (as suggested in D8.1, McKnight 2015). They may also offer better careers guidance, with emphasis on a preference for matching skills upon entrance in the labour market (despite lower initial pay), and taking away the urgency in finding a(ny) job by granting a higher living standard (the 'glass floor' effect found also by McKnight for the UK and described by Bernardi 2003 for Spain). For low and middle classes, a prolonged co-residence may be the best available strategy for families to enhance their children's capacity to afford tertiary education and improve the chances of a better start in the labour market.



## 5. Conclusions

The objective of this report was to study the family strategies around young people's entrance and establishment into the labour market. The first and final parts of the report (chapters 2 and 4) focus on effects of the household employment structure and parental social class background on school-to-work trajectories and employment success, respectively. The central part (chapter 3) explored the effects of unemployment duration, early entrance and employment continuity on the likelihood of employment success (in terms of high wage, a skilled job, or both).

The main findings of chapter 2 suggest that the time when young people left education, their educational level and the employment structure of the family of origin, all have large consequences for the type of trajectory experienced by young individuals. In particular, those who entered the labour market during the crisis (2008-2011), who are less educated, and who live in families where most of their members are not working were less likely to have a speedy trajectory and more likely to experience continuous unemployment or inactivity.

Focussing on the employment structure of the families of origin, we also find that parental working conditions are of crucial importance in explaining youth school-to-work trajectories. A stable working condition of parents is associated with more favourable entry trajectories for both males and female school-leavers. It is enough to have one working household member, to increase significantly the probability of a speedy trajectory, and decrease significantly the probability of being continuously unemployed/inactive.

Further, we have tested how the role of the household employment conditions on young peoples' entry process did not change much over time. However, we identify a stronger buffering role from working-rich households during the crisis. Young individuals living in work rich households were more protected from the increasing difficulties in entering the labour market than their peers living in work-poor families, especially males.

From the analyses in chapter 3, we have first shown that, although both an early start and a continuous employment attachment are associated with more favourable outcomes (especially a higher rate of 'success' and higher paid occupations for young people above 24 years), these effects are relatively small and do not support the idea that any job is necessarily always better than joblessness. Indeed, a well-matched start at the trade-off of a lower salary (or of a longer job search), in terms of skills level, is often a better strategy for securing better outcomes in the longer run,

especially for tertiary educated. Overall, a careful and informed planning of young people's career might well include the risk of some initial turbulence, or a slightly longer unemployment caused by giving up on unskilled job offers, for securing better longer term prospects and a successful establishment in employment.

Exploring the effects of initial occupations on later outcomes we have also revealed that, (initially) being poorly paid but in skilled occupations (an 'investment' strategy) can constitute an opportunity for young people that can soon turn into a successful positioning in the labour market. Instead, unskilled occupations for qualified young people ('need' and 'failure' strategies) can become an employment trap difficult to reverse in the long run (similar findings for the risk of unemployment in Germany are from Reichelt, 2015). In other words, wage seems responding more easily to tenure (up skilling in line with human capital accumulation or upward mobility) than occupational positioning on the basis of skills level.

Finally, in chapter 3 we have shown that higher education seems still a major stepping-stone to a professional job and a successful establishment in the labour market. However, the capacity of young people to pursue tertiary education is still strongly stratified by family social class background (chapter 4) and family/household work intensity (chapter 2).

In the last part of this report (chapter 4), our analyses finds support for a strong influence of the family social background on the strategies pursued and occupational conditions (pay & skill level) reached by young individuals within five years of completing their education. These findings suggest a strong familial influence on young peoples' (un)successful employment outcomes. They point to mechanisms related to a more successful role of higher class families in informing (through advice and guidance), supporting (through social networks, aspiration building, more effective guidance through the educational and employment systems) and backing-up (economic support and/or longer co-residence) young peoples' employment decisions. We have shown that the most likely effective strategies, in order to lead to better outcomes, often entail initial losses such as higher risks (longer or more likely unemployment) or investments (lower pay). These findings are in line with, and complement, the findings from other work packages of the project focussing on the risk of mismatch by educational institutions and search methods of first employment (McGuinness et al 2015) for the impact of unemployment duration on a successful job search (Flek & Mysíková 2016).

However, concerning country differences, net of different baseline shares of young people in each occupational status across countries, we found no statistically significant evidence of different mechanisms linking either duration in unemployment, continuity of employment, entry jobs or social class of the family of origin to the degree of success in employment three to five years after achieving

an educational qualification in the five selected cases from the youth transition regimes typology.

We conclude by discussing how, as inequalities widen, parents' ability to invest in their children's success not only remains salient but also becomes more unequal. Since the outcomes of employment careers seem so strongly influenced by what happens in the early period of establishment in the labour market, a comprehensive investment strategy in young people's transition to employment should become a priority. Key steps would be: (1) increasing opportunities for low and middle class children, and for households with a poor attachment to employment, to have first their young people pursue higher education and secondly (2) offering later guidance for young peoples' strategic planning through the initial steps of their career.

While the financial crisis has not been overcome and spills over into rising unemployment and cuts in public services and welfare spending (health care, educational systems, pensions, social assistance) the need for resilient employment and social policy is more urgent than ever. As of now, in most European countries flexible jobs (agency work, fixed-term contracts, part-time work, mini-jobs, some forms of self-employment) risk to become a lower segment of the labour force, catering especially for young people, but unable to protect them from the risks of incurring a 'trap jobs' career, unemployment, parenthood or illness, nor to provide a secure income guarantee in old age. Relaxing hiring and firing legislation without compensating with generous social protection and active labour market policies, while increasing retirement age, risks to affect young people's capacity to establish themselves in employment in a way that strongly stratifies their life opportunities according to their class of origin. Facing rapid population ageing, a comprehensive retailing and harmonisation of welfare provisions across Europe, with a more balanced redistribution between generations (especially in those countries facing sharper youth unemployment or NEETs), is a key step in allowing fair chances for young people to access gainful employment across countries.

Given the strong influence that households characteristics and families of origin exercise in the strategies pursued by young people in accessing and establishing employment careers, further rises in unequal access to employment and income for households would jeopardise lower classes young peoples' life chances and opportunities. They would also, at the country level, increase further losses in productivity (with a tremendous loss of productive potential) and increase the pressure towards more passive income support measures. Alternatively, they would unevenly strain families who have to compensate for retrenching welfare and increasingly fragile markets.

The overall empirical evidence emerging from this study suggests that, from a policy perspective, we need to go beyond the view that helping (especially highly) educated young people into the labour market results in providing them with employment attachment, or leads to a reduction of

unemployment duration. The results suggest instead that 'any job' is not necessarily always better to unemployment, given the salience of the early steps in the labour market and the low prejudicial effects of an early turbulence. It also supports several policy suggestions in areas such as family, education and labour market policy.

#### Family policies:

- It is important to consider the employment structure of young people's families, at about the time when they leave education. In particular, policy interventions should be targeted to young people living in households where parents or other family members do not work. These interventions should focus both on young people aspirations and motivation, and on giving them access to an effective service of job search.
- Rising awareness among parents on the importance of their expectations, guidance role, and array of options with respect to their children educational routes (length and affordability) and potential returns

#### Education policies:

- Policies and interventions should invest in educational programs (already at younger ages) to increase self-awareness about one's abilities and interests; to equalise educational aspirations and expectations; as well as to provide more broadly some of the soft-skills that better-off parents can afford their children (this might include self-confidence, leadership, resilience, diplomacy, cooperative team-work and mediation).
- Securing a more even access to tertiary education by family background, especially in those countries where tuition fees are higher and young people are excluded from entitlement to economic support while studying, or where residential costs are an obstacle to the pursue of higher level studies.
- Provide a wider and more homogeneous access to opportunities for internships or company-based training.
- Restrict or monitor educational early tracking or shorter routes to professionalization where they are taking place in the context of general educational systems which do not provide flexibility in changes between career tracks.

#### Labour market policies:

- Encouraging the use of temporary contracts (relaxing hiring and firing regulations) in absence of strong and universal income support measures, may increase young people's turbulence in the initial steps of their careers (by increasing unemployment overall duration and 'need' strategies, resorting to 'failure' strategies or informal work). It may also increase their dependence on their families of origin,

stratify further their destinies on the basis of their social background, and worsen their prospects of a successful employment outcome in the longer term.

- Devising career guidance, especially for young people from poorer backgrounds, to enhance aspirations and recognise and plan viable strategies towards the achievement of short and long-term career goals.
- Harmonising benefit systems to include young people, since segmentation of the labour markets, prolonged turbulence and informal work can easily become traps for those young people in need of gainful employment.
- Providing young people with opportunities for exchange, mentoring and guidance within mixed environments for sharing opportunities and social networks and for making the experience of a larger array of strategies and outcomes possible as perceptions become highly selective in closed social circles.

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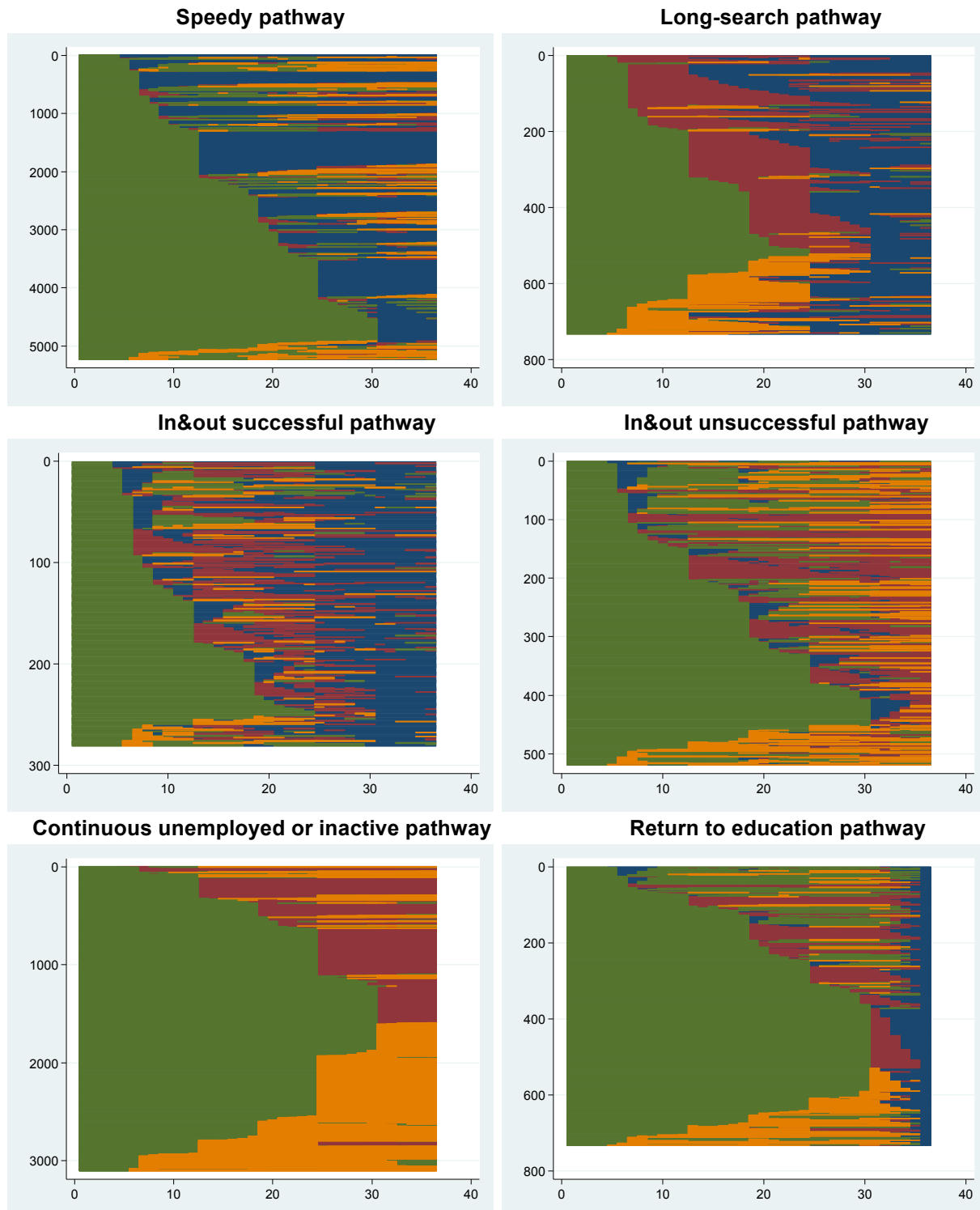
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## 7. Appendix

Figure A.1 Individual School-to-Work transitions by trajectory type



Legend: Green: education; Blue: employment; Yellow: Unemployment; Red: Inactivity.

Source: Author's computation based on EU-SILC longitudinal data (2009-2012).

Table A.1 Predicted outcome probabilities and marginal effects for females

	Speedy	Long search	In&out successful	In&out unsuccessful	Continuously unemployed/inactive	Return to education
<b>Predicted outcome probabilities:</b>	0.640*** (0.011)	0.020*** (0.003)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.039*** (0.004)	0.248*** (0.010)	0.047*** (0.004)
<b>Marginal effects:</b>						
Age	0.022*** (0.005)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.004** (0.002)
At most upper secondary education	0.108*** (0.028)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.013 (0.008)	-0.083*** (0.025)	-0.008 (0.009)
Tertiary education	0.164*** (0.042)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.083** (0.040)	-0.046*** (0.016)
Highly educated father	-0.004 (0.034)	-0.009 (0.006)	0.003*** (0.001)	-0.006 (0.011)	0.005 (0.033)	0.011 (0.010)
Highly educated mother	-0.030 (0.031)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.031)	0.032*** (0.009)
One-parent family	-0.010 (0.032)	0.001 (0.005)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004 (0.012)	0.010 (0.029)	-0.007 (0.011)
No other working-age family members are present	0.139*** (0.036)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)	0.011 (0.016)	-0.145*** (0.031)	0.002 (0.011)
Household size	-0.013 (0.009)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.018** (0.008)	-0.000 (0.003)
Mother employed 6 months	0.114*** (0.022)	0.004 (0.004)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.109*** (0.020)	0.005 (0.007)
Mother employed at least 1 month (but less than 6)	0.074* (0.039)	0.009 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.018 (0.013)	-0.049 (0.035)	-0.016 (0.0141)
Father employed 6 months	0.079*** (0.027)	0.000 (0.004)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.077*** (0.024)	-0.008 (0.009)
Father employed at least 1 month (but less than 6)	-0.053 (0.047)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.004)	0.026* (0.015)	0.039 (0.042)	-0.003 (0.016)
All other working-age family members: work-intensity = 1	0.184*** (0.040)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.002 (0.002)	0.011 (0.016)	-0.178*** (0.035)	-0.015 (0.013)
All other working-age family members: 0 < work-intensity < 1	0.188*** (0.044)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.002 (0.002)	0.017 (0.016)	-0.190*** (0.039)	-0.011 (0.014)
ALMPs	-0.219 (0.480)	0.021 (0.071)	0.007 (0.024)	0.002 (0.186)	0.295 (0.471)	-0.107 (0.140)
EPL-T	0.089 (0.070)	0.010 (0.010)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.032 (0.024)	-0.053 (0.068)	-0.019 (0.025)
EPL-P	1.023*** (0.346)	0.066 (0.047)	0.022 (0.051)	-0.465*** (0.165)	-0.580* (0.325)	-0.066 (0.162)
Observations	3415	3415	3415	3415	3415	3415

*Note: Reference category for education: At most lower secondary education. Reference category for mother's employment status in the six-month period: never employed. Reference category for father's employment status in the six-month period: never employed. Reference category for other working-age family members: work-intensity = 0. We also control for country dummies, year dummies (year of exiting education), GDP growth rate corresponding to the year of exiting education, and length of the first spell of education (at the beginning of the sequence). Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .*

Table A.2. Predicted outcome probabilities and marginal effects for males

	Speedy	Long search	In&out successful	In&out unsuccessful	Continuously unemployed/inactive	Return to education
<b>Predicted outcome probabilities:</b>						
	0.668*** (0.010)	0.036*** (0.003)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.030*** (0.003)	0.204*** (0.009)	0.044*** (0.004)
<b>Marginal effects:</b>						
Age	0.014*** (0.004)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.010*** (0.00378)	-0.002* (0.001)
At most upper secondary education	0.109*** (0.023)	0.009 (0.007)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.118*** (0.0205)	0.004 (0.007)
Tertiary education	0.178*** (0.040)	0.022** (0.011)	0.005 (0.007)	-0.030** (0.012)	-0.166*** (0.0386)	-0.009 (0.013)
Highly educated father	-0.030 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.008)	0.003 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.00476 (0.0259)	0.035*** (0.008)
Highly educated mother	-0.017 (0.027)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.008 (0.006)	0.00998 (0.0245)	0.004 (0.008)
One-parent family	-0.026 (0.029)	0.0118 (0.008)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.007)	0.0101 (0.0259)	0.002 (0.011)
No other working-age family members are present	0.161*** (0.032)	-0.003 (0.009)	0.013* (0.007)	-0.014* (0.008)	-0.137*** (0.0279)	-0.020** (0.010)
Household size	-0.016** (0.008)	0.005** (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.002)	0.00949 (0.00716)	0.000 (0.003)
Mother employed 6 months	0.082*** (0.020)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.008** (0.004)	0.002 (0.005)	-0.0840*** (0.0178)	0.001 (0.006)
Mother employed at least 1 month (but less than 6)	-0.004 (0.037)	0.004 (0.010)	0.002 (0.006)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.0251 (0.0336)	0.019 (0.012)
Father employed 6 months	0.084*** (0.024)	0.001 (0.007)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.0836*** (0.0214)	-0.001 (0.008)
Father employed at least 1 month (but less than 6)	0.012 (0.043)	0.013 (0.011)	0.005 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.0168 (0.0372)	-0.007 (0.015)
Other working-age family members: work-intensity = 1	0.233*** (0.037)	-0.008 (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.177*** (0.0322)	-0.039*** (0.012)
Other working-age family members: 0 < work-intensity < 1	0.166*** (0.039)	-0.011 (0.010)	0.006 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.127*** (0.0335)	-0.022* (0.012)
ALMPs	0.066 (0.419)	0.189 (0.124)	0.066 (0.074)	-0.154 (0.107)	-0.00546 (0.392)	-0.162 (0.123)
EPL-T	-0.022 (0.064)	0.003 (0.0148)	-0.003 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.018)	0.00332 (0.0597)	0.022 (0.02)
EPL-P	0.707*** (0.273)	-0.025 (0.063)	-0.008 (0.048)	-0.224 (0.143)	-0.419* (0.243)	-0.031 (0.122)
Observations	3974	3974	3974	3974	3974	3974

Note: Reference category for education: At most lower secondary education. Reference category for mother's employment status in the six-month period: never employed. Reference category for father's employment status in the six-month period: never employed. Reference category for other working-age family members: work-intensity = 0. We also control for country dummies, year dummies (year of exiting education), GDP growth rate corresponding to the year of exiting education, and length of the first spell of education (at the beginning of the sequence). Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table A3. Predicted outcome probabilities by family type

	Females		Males	
	Pr	St.Err.	Pr	St.Err.
<b>No other members present (besides parents)</b>				
<b>Both parents worked during the six-month period (work-rich)</b>				
Speedy	0.728 ***	0.017	0.753 ***	0.014
Long search	0.020 ***	0.003	0.036 ***	0.005
In&out successful	0.006 ***	0.002	0.018 ***	0.004
In&out unsuccessful	0.033 ***	0.006	0.026 ***	0.004
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.160 ***	0.014	0.125 ***	0.011
Return into education	0.053 ***	0.007	0.042 ***	0.006
<b>None parent worked during the six-month period (work-poor)</b>				
Speedy	0.540 ***	0.030	0.592 ***	0.029
Long search	0.016 ***	0.004	0.030 ***	0.006
In&out successful	0.002 **	0.001	0.022 ***	0.007
In&out unsuccessful	0.046 ***	0.012	0.029 ***	0.007
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.340 ***	0.030	0.286 ***	0.028
Return into education	0.056 ***	0.011	0.042 ***	0.008
<b>Other family members present (besides parents)</b>				
<b>Both parents and all other family members worked during the six-months period (work-rich)</b>				
Speedy	0.763 ***	0.021	0.808 ***	0.017
Long search	0.023 ***	0.004	0.031 ***	0.006
In&out successful	0.008 ***	0.003	0.012 ***	0.004
In&out unsuccessful	0.032 ***	0.007	0.023 ***	0.005
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.137 ***	0.017	0.099 ***	0.013
Return into education	0.036 ***	0.007	0.027 ***	0.006
<b>Parents and other family members did not work during the six-month period (work-poor)</b>				
Speedy	0.376 ***	0.039	0.394 ***	0.039
Long search	0.019 ***	0.005	0.028 ***	0.008
In&out successful	0.001 *	0.001	0.008 **	0.004
In&out unsuccessful	0.030 ***	0.012	0.039 ***	0.011
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.527 ***	0.042	0.475 ***	0.043
Return into education	0.046 ***	0.011	0.056 ***	0.013
<b>Parents did not work while other family members worked during the six-month period (mixed 1)</b>				
Speedy	0.589 ***	0.036	0.665 ***	0.033
Long search	0.019 ***	0.005	0.026 ***	0.006
In&out successful	0.002 ***	0.001	0.016 ***	0.006
In&out unsuccessful	0.048 **	0.014	0.027 ***	0.007
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.303 ***	0.034	0.238 ***	0.031
Return into education	0.040 ***	0.010	0.028 ***	0.007
<b>Parents worked while other family members did not work during the six-month period (mixed 2)</b>				
Speedy	0.597 ***	0.034	0.597 ***	0.032
Long search	0.028 ***	0.007	0.040 ***	0.009
In&out successful	0.005 **	0.002	0.008 **	0.003
In&out unsuccessful	0.025 ***	0.009	0.042 ***	0.010
Continuously unemployed/inactive	0.293 ***	0.031	0.247 ***	0.029
Return into education	0.052 ***	0.012	0.066 ***	0.013

Note. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

*Table A4. Probability of being speedy and continuously unemployed/inactive by gender, year of exiting education and family type*

	Year	Females				Males			
		Work-rich families		Work-poor families		Work-rich families		Work-poor Families	
		Pr	St.Err.	Pr	St.Err.	Pr	St.Err.	Pr	St.Err.
Speedy	2005	0.753	0.038	0.359	0.059	0.757	0.035	0.332	0.053
	2006	0.785	0.045	0.433	0.073	0.767	0.042	0.346	0.063
	2007	0.726	0.036	0.384	0.052	0.842	0.025	0.502	0.055
	2008	0.708	0.034	0.333	0.046	0.770	0.028	0.374	0.047
	2009	0.699	0.041	0.309	0.052	0.743	0.035	0.338	0.049
	2010	0.751	0.043	0.353	0.060	0.716	0.050	0.267	0.054
	2011	0.836	0.058	0.443	0.102	0.839	0.049	0.385	0.087
Continuously unempl/inac	2005	0.145	0.031	0.539	0.066	0.125	0.027	0.537	0.066
	2006	0.100	0.029	0.429	0.079	0.112	0.031	0.496	0.078
	2007	0.104	0.019	0.429	0.057	0.050	0.011	0.294	0.052
	2008	0.145	0.024	0.530	0.053	0.090	0.017	0.429	0.053
	2009	0.169	0.034	0.579	0.062	0.102	0.021	0.458	0.060
	2010	0.159	0.033	0.581	0.064	0.174	0.037	0.638	0.062
	2011	0.126	0.045	0.518	0.103	0.123	0.039	0.555	0.086

*Note. Results are all statistically significant at 1% level.*



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